

# Changing public space

The recent redevelopment of Dutch city squares

Veranderende openbare ruimte  
De recente herontwikkeling van Nederlandse stadspaleinen

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Rianne Gertruda van Melik

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Promotor:  
Prof.dr. J. van Weesep

Co-promotor:  
Dr. I. van Aalst

## Changing public space

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# Changing public space

The recent redevelopment of Dutch city squares

Rianne van Melik

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Promotor:

Prof.dr. J. van Weesep, Utrecht University

Co-promotor:

Dr. I. van Aalst, Utrecht University

Examination committee:

Prof.dr. J. Burgers, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Dr. L. Deben, University of Amsterdam

Prof.dr. R. van Kempen, Utrecht University

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# Voorwoord

*Al reizend ervaart men het leven vreemder, overal anders en overal eender.* Brabantse dichter en auteur Jan van Sleeuwen, muurtekst centraal station 's-Hertogenbosch

Voor u ligt mijn proefschrift over de herinrichting van Nederlandse stadspaleizen. In steeds meer steden worden openbare ruimten onder handen genomen. Paleizen worden opnieuw bestraat, er verschijnen meer terrassen en talrijke evenementen worden georganiseerd in het openbaar. Tegelijkertijd wordt openbare ruimte steeds strenger gereguleerd, onder andere door bewakingsambtenaren en camera's. Ook is de private sector steeds vaker betrokken bij de herinrichtingsprocessen. De zoektocht naar de achtergronden van en verklaringen voor deze trends heeft mij de afgelopen jaren door heel Nederland gebracht. Met Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede en 's-Hertogenbosch als onderzoeksgebieden en respondenten verspreid over het hele land heb ik heel wat gereisd. Tel daar congresbezoeken en excursies bij op en het wordt duidelijk dat je tijdens je promotie beslist niet alleen maar achter je bureau zit.

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Diegenen die mij goed kennen weten dat ik eigenlijk helemaal niet zo’n reiziger ben, en misschien ook niet eens een echte stadsgeograaf. Heinemeyer e.a. (1968) onderscheidden vier verschillende typen personen op basis van hun affiniteit met de stad: de bekenners (echte stedelingen), sympathisanten, gebruikers en ontkenners. Als Limburgse en woonachtig in Bunnik behoor ik waarschijnlijk meer tot de gebruikers of ontkenners. Maar juist dan ben je waarschijnlijk sneller verwonderd over de stedelijke omgeving en veranderingen daarin. Hopelijk verwondert u zich in de komende hoofdstukken met me mee.

Rianne van Melik  
Utrecht, maart 2008

# 1 Changing role of public space in a changing society

*The time may soon come when planners, designers, developers, and others will recognize and act on the simple notion that the spaces between buildings are as important to the life of urban man as the buildings themselves.* Chermayeff & Alexander (1963, in: Ford, 2000: viii)

## 1.1 Introduction

Public spaces like streets, squares, and parks are important structuring elements of the urban landscape. They are places for unexpected encounters and public discourse as well as for relaxation and passage (Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999; Madanipour, 2003). Urban public space forms an integral part of daily life: people walk or ride through the streets, lounge in the parks, and shop at the market. Moreover, particular public spaces have played a fundamental role in the way civil society has functioned throughout history: from the ancient Greek *agora* and the medieval market place to Renaissance boulevards and today's pedestrian precincts and parks. Some even argue that urban development would be impossible without public space, because it is the exchange platform of goods, knowledge, culture, and entertainment (Meyer et al., 2006).

After a period of relative complacency, Dutch policymakers have recently been giving public space increasing attention. In the 1970s and early 1980s, they showed little interest in urban public space, focusing instead on the poor economic performance and high unemployment rates in cities (Brunt & Deben, 2001). Any attention directed to public space concerned residential neighbourhoods in suburban areas. When the economy picked up, however, interest shifted to the quality of public space in the city centre. This was first manifest in the Fourth National Policy Document on Spatial Planning (*Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening*), which appeared in 1988. Soon thereafter, the local government of The Hague announced its intention to completely redevelop the city centre in an urban policy plan named 'Healthy Core' (*Kern Gezond*). By setting an example, the plan induced the redevelopment of many public spaces in other Dutch city centres (Reijndorp & Nio, 1996). Meanwhile, most urban public space has been upgraded and now serves as distinguishing feature in the growing competition between cities to attract investments, residents, and visitors. A similar change has been observed in other European cities, with Barcelona and Paris as the main trendsetters (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Gaventa, 2006).

Fuelled by the increased policy output, public space became a hot topic in the Dutch media and on research agendas. The media attention varied from running special newspaper reports on city squares (NRC, 2006) to holding opinion polls on the country's best public spaces (Engels, 2006; Stedelijk Interieur, 2007.) Recently, a Dutch newspaper commissioned a panel of experts to formulate solutions to the main spatial problems of the Netherlands. On top of the panel's so-called Spatial Agenda was the recommendation to put more effort in high-grade public space

to improve the liveability of cities (Zonderop, 2007). In academic circles, numerous studies were published on public space (e.g., Oosterman, 1992, 1993; Van der Wouden, 1999a, 1999b; Burgers, 2000, 2003; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, 2003; Meyer et al., 2006). Yet only a few deal specifically with the redevelopment of public space. This is a regrettable gap in the literature, because these processes have had a strong impact on how Dutch city centres look and function.

Given the scanty reflection on this process of change, the present author focuses on the redevelopment of Dutch public space. The central theme of the research is the relation between a changing society and changing public space. We do not need to dwell on the connection between society and space, as that has been articulated previously (e.g., Gregory & Urry, 1985; Hubbard, 2001; Iveson, 2007). According to MacLaren (2003: 1), "... cities mirror the character of the society that creates and sustains them. They are therefore as multifaceted as the range of social complexity which engenders them ...". The link between society and public space becomes clear when comparing characteristic differences between countries. For instance, the Latin cultures of Southern Europe display wealth and power in palaces, town halls, and churches including the surrounding public spaces (Herzog, 2006). In contrast, the Muslim cultures of North Africa have only a limited number of public spaces apart from markets and shopping streets, but rather display wealth and power within the more private domains of the home and mosque (Carr et al., 1992). Other cultures have different uses and designs for public space. There is also an enduring correlation between societal development, on the one hand, and the actions of governments, institutions, companies, and citizens, on the other (Spit & Zoete, 2003). The relation between society and public space may thus be examined from two angles: which societal developments *and* whose actions are behind the increasing redevelopment of public space in the Netherlands? This study seeks to uncover the backgrounds of urban redevelopment – the underlying social antecedents as well as the actors involved – and to chart the effects on public space.

## 1.2 Definitions of public space

The academic literature does not give a general definition of public space (Burgers, 2000). In fact, there are multiple and sometimes even contradictory meanings of the concept. Staeheli and Mitchell (2007) have analysed 218 geographical books and journal articles on public space that appeared between 1945 and 1998. They show that many authors refer to the *physical setting* (27% of the publications) or regard public space as a *site of negotiation, contest, or protest* (23%). Yet most emphasise its *social meeting function* (37%).

The simplest way to define public space is in terms of the physical setting – a street, boulevard, sidewalk, square, or park (Carr et al., 1992; Meyer et al., 2006). An urban geographer, Iveson (2007), calls this the *topographical approach*, which is used to denote a particular physical place in the city. Although this approach might seem self-evident, the current debate takes the definition a step beyond the physical structure. Some authors point out new forms of public space that are not physical but virtual, such as Internet chat rooms (Crang, 2000; Van der Wouden, 2002; Taipale, 2006). These new spaces do not make 'real' public space redundant, but broaden the concept of public space. In contrast to the topographical approach, the *procedural approach* allows for a non-physical public realm. It also emphasises the function of public space as site of power and protest. Thus, a procedural definition of public space is grounded in the function of hosting common action that is coordinated through speech and persuasion. Actually,

23 per cent of the geographical publications on public space covered in the analysis mentioned above also emphasise this function.

In essence, by merging the topographical with the procedural approach, several authors have highlighted the social meeting function of public space; these include Lofland (1973), Sennett (1978), Carr et al. (1992), Zukin (1995) and Goheen (1998). They define public space as a range of places where people from all kinds of backgrounds can congregate and learn from each other, resulting in new insights, social ties and tolerance – and ultimately in cosmopolitan citizens (Brunt & Deben, 2001). This is the so-called Olmstedian view, in which open public space comprises places of social contact and civic pride (Banerjee, 2001). The stance is named after Frederick Law Olmsted, who designed many American parks and wrote about creating order and structure in industrial cities. The social meeting function is closely linked to accessibility. After all, people from different backgrounds are only able to meet if the space is not bound to opening hours or entrance fees and is not reserved for a specific group but can be accessed and used by everyone. However, according to Atkinson, it is doubtful whether any public space actually meets this standard: “If public space is defined as space to ‘which normally people have unrestricted access and right of way’ it is difficult to make the argument that any space has ever held such a status ...” (Atkinson, 2003: 1830).

The text box shows a selection of definitions found by the present researcher. Two defining elements predominate on this list: the physical setting (e.g., Van der Plas, 1991; Brunt & Deben, 2001) and the social meeting function (e.g., Mentzel, 1993; Cybriwsky, 1999; Van Aalst & Bergenhenegouwen, 2003). While accessibility is also frequently mentioned (e.g., Carr et al., 1992; Boyer, 1993; Zukin, 1995; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; VROM, 2001), few definitions refer to public space as a site of negotiation, contest, or protest. Some definitions are ideal-typical depictions of public space. Brunt and Deben (2001: 13), for example, admit that their definition is hard to find in reality. When applying its criteria, most seemingly public spaces will turn out to be semi-public. The crux of the matter is to formulate a definition which is not too exclusive but at the same time describes the characteristics of public space as specifically as possible. Dessouroux (2003) tries to solve this problem by using a cube with three axes: property, access, and regulation. Public spaces can be found at any point within the cube. In other words, they do not necessarily have to be public property, universally accessible, and have a permissive regulation. This ‘definition’ also allows for publicly owned spaces with a more restrictive regime as well as for privately owned but publicly accessible spaces (comparable to Yücesoy’s definition in the text box). This is important because such spaces might function as public space:

Since the mall is privately owned, it is not a public space in the same way that a town plaza or street might be. Nevertheless, people in Syracuse think of the mall as being equivalent to downtown, making it a *de facto* public space in the ways they want to use it and the ways they think about it .... (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006: 990)

Interestingly, only few of the definitions specify ownership as a distinguishing factor (except for Madanipour, 2003; Meyer et al., 2006). This suggests that the authors either assume that public space is publicly owned by the local government or consider ownership – be it public or private – irrelevant to a definition of public space. Needham (2007: 197) states in this context that public space is *for* the public, not necessarily *of* the public. Public space is often directly linked to its antonym, private space (Low & Smith, 2006; Taipale, 2006). The boundaries between the two are constantly shifting, leading to more hybrid forms and making it almost impossible to formulate a conclusive definition. The one cannot be seen without the other:

There seems to be a tendency for these and similar areas of literature to be mutually exclusive, each adopting a single focus and seeing the other sphere as outside their remit (...) The public and the private, however, only make sense in relation to each other, as they are interdependent notions .... (Madanipour, 2003: 3)

A number of authors have defined subcategories. The sociologist Lyn Lofland (1998), for example, introduced an extra category between the public and the private: the parochial realm. The public realm consists of those areas of urban settlements in which individuals in co-presence

### **Selection of public space definitions in the academic literature**

**Boyer (1993: 116):** 'public' in a democracy should refer to the entire populace, all groups, all neighborhoods, all regions of the country. Its access should be open and its construction untampered with.

**Brunt & Deben (2001: 13):\*** the urban public space is by definition accessible to everyone and usable for a number of activities. The public domain consists of streets and squares, parks and inner courts, bridges and waterways. Without asking permission, people can enter the public domain, use it as a passage, as a place to sit, meet others, do business, observe. As often and as long as one wishes, day and night, summer and winter, and it does not matter whether you are rich or poor, male or female, black or white.

**Carr et al. (1992: 50):** we define public spaces as open, publicly accessible places where people go for group or individual activities. While public spaces can take many forms and may assume various names such as plazas, malls, and playgrounds, they all share common ingredients. Public spaces generally contain public amenities such as walkways, benches, and water; physical and visual elements, such as paving or lawn, and vegetation that support activities. Whether planned or found, they are usually open and accessible to the public. Some are under public ownership and management, whereas others are privately owned but open to the public.

**Cybrivsky (1999: 224):** those parts that are freely accessible to the public and are intended for social interaction, relaxation or passage. Such spaces can be either indoors or outdoors (although the former are more common) and may include walkways, parks and other open areas, landscaped plazas or public squares, the lobbies of many buildings, and various other areas where people may sit, gather or pass through.

**Hajer & Reijndorp (2001: 11):** public space is in essence a space that is freely accessible for everyone: public is the opposite of private.

**Madanipour (2003: 112):** using the criteria of access, agency and interest, a space can be considered public if it is controlled by the public authorities, concerns the people as a whole, is open or available to them, and is used or shared by all members of a community.

**Mentzel (1993: 104):\*** the place where citizens can encounter each other as citizens.

**Meyer et al. (2006: 10):\*** territory and civil artwork that is owned and managed by the (local) government (...) yet this does not alter the fact that there are spaces in the city that – according to the land register – do not formally belong to the public space but are used accordingly in daily life.

**Mitrašinović (2006: 243):** traditional sites of public interaction where the public comes together in face-to-face situations, (...) an environment designed to allow for [open and unrestricted] citizen communication and exchange [on equal footing] whose forms and practices of which have been defined by public law as well as by the cultural, political and socio-economic milieu.

**Van Aalst & Berghenegouwen (2003: 398):\*** the place for meetings and exchange, in which the shared experiences of different cultural backgrounds, the so-called cultural mobility, is central.

**Van der Plas (1991: 7):\*** streets, squares, parks, which every person is allowed to use and which are a common possession of us all.

**VROM (2001: 2):\*** all freely accessible spaces.

**Walzer (1986: 470):** space we share with strangers, people who aren't our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter. Its character expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture, everyday discourse.

**Worpole (1992, in: Tiesdell & Oc, 1998: 640):** public space is important neutral territory, a site where people can mix and mingle without feeling socially embarrassed, where to some degree everybody is equal.

**Yücesoy (2006: 5):** those areas of the city that are legally open to everybody: streets, parks, and places of public accommodation. In this sense, not only open-air public spaces, but also public buildings and public sectors of semi-private buildings are also considered urban public spaces.

**Zukin (1995: 262):** the defining characteristics of urban public space [are] proximity, diversity, and accessibility.

\* Translation from Dutch by the author

tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another. In contrast, the private realm is characterised by ties of intimacy among primary group members who are located within households and personal networks. The parochial realm is typified by a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbours who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located within 'communities' (Lofland, 1998: 9-10). The parochial realm is publicly accessible, yet it clearly forms the domain of a single user group, which might prevent other user groups from entering the domain (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). According to Loukaitou-Sideris (1996: 100), parochialism leads to the fragmentation of the public realm, which becomes socially divisive and is "... accompanied by fear, suspicion, tension and conflict between different social groups ...". Van der Wouden (2002) also discerned three levels: public (the agora), semi-public (the daily living environment), and private (the home). Boomkens (1998) introduced the 'threshold world' (*drempelwereld*) as an intermediate category between the public and the private domain. Sometimes this intermediate space is literally a doorstep, but it can also be a sidewalk, the front steps, or garden. Lastly, Madanipour (2003) distinguishes six different shades of meaning from private to public, ranging from the internal world of the mind and the intimate space of the home to the communal space of the neighbourhood and the impersonal space of the city.

The term privatisation is just as fuzzy as the definition of public and private space. Some authors have claimed that public space is becoming more and more privatised. They speak in terms of the 'end of public space' (Sorkin, 1992; Kohn, 2004) or 'narrative of loss' to emphasise an overall decline of the public realm and public space (Crawford in Banerjee, 2001). However, the trends they want to describe as 'privatisation' differ significantly. The term not only refers to people's retreat into the private home (Sennett, 1978) or the increasing private ownership of the public domain (Cybriwsky, 1999). It also refers to private behaviour in public space ranging from calling with mobile phones and eating to relieving oneself in public urinals (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Van der Lans, 2004). When speaking of 'privatisation' in this research, we refer to the increasing private ownership of the public domain, rather than to other meanings of the term.

In sum, the dichotomy of public and private space is not as black-and-white as one might assume. Some areas are freely accessible throughout the day and therefore seem public, yet they may prove to be owned by private investors who can deny entry. Conversely, other places may not be accessible every hour of the day but can still function as public spaces. In other words, urban public space is characterised by a number of variegations of 'publicness' (Nio, 2002; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). This research acknowledges these variations and refers to public space in a broad sense. This includes not only outdoor, publicly owned spaces that are freely accessible, but also indoor, privately owned spaces that possibly have more restrictive policies like lobbies and shopping malls atriums.

### 1.3 Frame of reference

The present study is highly informed by international literature. Public space is an important field of research in many areas, ranging from the United States and Western Europe (e.g., Carmona et al., 2003; Low & Smith, 2006; Madanipour, 1999, 2003) to India and Russia (e.g., Arefi & Meyers, 2003; Engel, 2006). Some researchers not only investigate public space in their

home country but also evaluate public space elsewhere such as Cybriwsky (1999) comparing New York City and Tokyo. Dutch publications also tend to refer to a variety of examples of foreign public space. Hajer and Reijndorp (2001), for example, illustrate their search of a new public domain with examples from Birmingham, Salzburg, and other non-Dutch cities. De Jong and Schuilenburg (2006) also bring up examples from all over the world. They use the CityWalk in Los Angeles as an illustration of the trend that public space becomes increasingly protected and isolated, similar to shopping malls, gated communities, and business improvement districts. In another section, they turn to Japan, where 1,2 million people aged 20 to 30 do not leave their bedroom at all. These people, named *Hikikomori* or Japan's Lost Generation, avoid public spaces because these cause stress and have become redundant as Internet fulfils the contact with the outside world.

Using foreign examples is valuable when describing general trends or outlining similarities and differences between countries. To have this frame of reference, international literature is cited frequently in the present research. However, it is important to note that the Dutch situation is central in the thesis and can differ considerably from international examples. Staeheli and Mitchell (2006), for example, state that drug dealers, panhandlers, and other people exhibiting uncivil behaviour have overrun the traditional town square in the United States. Much of the British public-space literature is concerned with the use of CCTV (Closed-Circuit Television) as security measure, as these are almost universal in large cities in the United Kingdom (e.g., Fyfe & Bannister, 1998; Toon, 2000). Similar observations can be made in the Netherlands but to a much lesser extent. Surveillance cameras, for example, are not yet omnipresent in Dutch city centres although CCTV is on the rise. In addition, there are differences in scale (in terms of size, problems, etc.) between cities and public spaces in the Netherlands and those in the US, the UK or elsewhere. When there are considerable differences between claims in the international literature and the Dutch situation, reference to these differences is made.

#### **1.4 Research objective and research questions**

Public spaces have been popular subjects for investigation. Given the large number of international publications on urban public space, the existing knowledge on the subject is extensive (e.g., Carr et al., 1992; Gehl & Gemzoe, 1996; Goheen, 1998; Banerjee, 2001; Atkinson, 2003; Dines & Cattell, 2006; Iveson, 2007; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007; Stevens, 2007). Nevertheless, further research on public space is indispensable. In the context of the present study, the most important reason to pursue the subject is the relative underexposure of urban redevelopment in the field of Dutch urban geography, as outlined in Section 1.1. Many cities are or recently have been in the process of upgrading their public spaces. Yet little is known about the backgrounds of this development. Nor do we know if and how redevelopment will influence the design and management of public space. Although several Dutch publications address some of the changes that can be observed in public space (e.g., Van der Wouden, 1999b; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Brunt & Deben, 2001; AIR, 2007), the importance of the redevelopment of urban public space does not seem to have been fully explored. In other words, the increasing attention for policy on public spaces has not been accompanied by an equivalent growth in academic output. The underlying motivation behind this research was to provide insight in the redevelopment of Dutch city squares, which could be generated by researching

the background and process of urban redevelopment. The overarching objective may then be formulated as follows: *to elucidate the social antecedents (background) of the redevelopment of Dutch city squares and to chart its course (process), asking why and how it occurs*. The answers may be found by examining changes in the institutional setting, social and cultural trends, and economic developments. When these societal characteristics change, so does public space. The next step is then to investigate *which* changes occur in public space as a result of the redevelopment process. Charting the process of redevelopment reveals *who* has been involved and *how* their involvement has affected public space. The background is the central topic of Chapter 2 and 3, while the process is traced in Chapter 4.

The objective contains a key term: urban redevelopment. It covers a variety of adaptations of public space. These range from mere remodelling to refurbishment all the way to comprehensive physical restructuring and functional changes. For the sake of clarity, this umbrella concept is applied consistently throughout the thesis, even when the adaptations are relatively modest. On some occasions, the terms upgrading and redesign are also used, serving as synonyms rather than indicators of different kinds or levels of intervention in public space.

Another important element of the objective is 'city square'. Much of the literature does not deal with a particular form of public space but describes it in general (e.g., Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999; Van der Wouden, 1999a; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Madanipour, 1999; Atkinson, 2003), though there are some exceptions. Oosterman (1992, 1993) and Montgomery (1997), for example, narrowed their research gaze to sidewalk cafés, while others specifically looked at urban parks (De Vos, 2005; Pincetl & Gearin, 2005; Risbeth & Finney, 2006; Low et al., 2006). A focus on a single kind of place is desirable, because public spaces can hardly be conceived of as the same. Some are mono-functional in design and use, such as playgrounds; others host many different activities that sometimes even conflict with each other, like city squares. We have therefore decided to limit the thesis to one specific kind of public space. City squares are an obvious choice for research on the redevelopment of public space. Not only are they the most dynamic kind of public spaces, owing to the diversity of their function and use, but they also often serve as a symbol of the city (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Crowhurst Lennard & Lennard, 2008) and have been the stage for historical events (De Vries, 1990; Webb, 1990). Recall the protests in 1989 on Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the parades on Moscow's Red Square, and anti-war demonstrations on Amsterdam's Museum Square and Dam Square. Because of their many different functions, city squares can take practically any form: some are designed for recreational purposes, to serve as parks; others serve transit needs and are thus comparable to city streets; yet other kinds have a commercial function similar to shopping malls. Moreover, different functions can be combined on a single square, creating potential conflicts between the divergent functions and uses (Burgers, 2003). Most salient for this study is the fact that city squares are frequently the focal point for the redevelopment of city centres. Indeed, they often constitute the centre of the city and a hub of urban life. By taking city squares as research objects, this thesis makes an explicit choice to study real physical and tangible spaces rather than public space as a virtual space or discourse.

Three research questions guide the investigation. These are stated and briefly elaborated below.

*1. How have the design and management of Dutch city squares evolved through history?*

An understanding of the current and future state of Dutch city squares requires knowledge about their genesis and development through history. To provide a theoretical basis on which to answer the first research question, the literature on the evolution of city squares is reviewed in Chapter 2. It also discusses different typologies of city squares that have appeared in academic literature. The typologies are used in Chapter 5 to support the methodological selection of the cases. Subsequently, the empirical material on the historical development of each of the selected redeveloped public spaces is discussed in Chapter 6. Two important elements of the first research question are design and management. They are foregrounded because they “are critical phases in the endless process of creating the human environment and keeping it fit for its intended use ...” (Carr et al., 1992: 247). Design refers to the process of articulating the physical appearance of public space, such as pavement, lighting, fences, and street furniture. It comes into play when the allocated resources are sufficient to make a substantial change in an existing place. Management refers to the process of redeveloping public space (i.e., finance, planning), controlling its use, and maintaining and adjusting its form to satisfy changing needs (Carr et al., 1992).

*2a. What are the current trends in the design and management of Dutch public space?*

*2b. Which socio-cultural, economic, and political dynamics have induced these trends?*

To understand the present and future uses of Dutch city squares, a historical review must be supplemented with an overview of current trends in the design and management of public space. The first descriptive part of the research question (2a) serves this purpose by unfolding recent changes in the design and management of public space and how these trends relate to one another. Section 3.2 and 3.3 provide a theoretical overview of the academic literature on the matter. After the main trends have been operationalised in Section 5.4, Chapter 7 discusses to what extent they can be observed in the cases. The research question calls for description but also entails the need for an explanation of the context of today’s public space: what are the main dynamics in society and how do they influence the design and management of public space (2b)? The explanatory framework is addressed theoretically in Section 3.4, while the socio-cultural, economic, and political dynamics relevant to the cases are presented in Chapter 6 and 7.

*3. What are the effects of private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of urban public space in the Netherlands?*

As this research aims to elucidate the process of urban redevelopment, it is appropriate to focus on the supply side (i.e., the actors involved in redevelopment) rather than the demand side (i.e., the users of public space). Researching the supply side has become more complex, since the number of actors involved in the redevelopment of public space in the Netherlands has risen in the last decades. In addition to the local government – which is generally seen as the main responsible actor (Oc & Tiesdell, 1999; Webster, 2007) – the private sector increasingly plays a role in the redevelopment of urban public space. A growing proportion of public space and the adjacent buildings is the property of corporate investors (Konijnenbelt, 1999; Nio, 2002; AIR, 2007). Because of the variation in who gets involved, Atkinson (2003) argues that an agency model is crucial to a comprehensive review of public space. Agency models, alternatively called actor, behavioural or decision-making approaches, emphasise the roles, behaviour, and decisions of different actors, and the impact they have on development (Guy & Henneberry, 2002). Chapter 4 theorises on the roles and objectives of different actors in the redevelopment of

public space, including the local government, developers, investors, and other stakeholders such as retailers or associations of local residents. The chapter also distinguishes possible effects of private-sector involvement on redeveloped public space based on the academic literature. The empirical part of the research (Chapter 8) later examines to what extent the private sector was involved and how this has affected the redeveloped public spaces.

## 1.5 Research approach and methodology

In his book *The Urban Order*, Short (1996) claims that to understand cities and their public spaces it is necessary to place them in a wider socio-economic context. This can be achieved by adopting a political-economy approach, which is also used by scholars as David Harvey and Susan Fainstein. An important notion in this approach is the *mode of production*, a term that refers to the production, exchange, and consumption relations along with the associated political and social arrangements that reproduce an economic order:

A mode of production contains both forces of production and relations of production.

The *forces of production* refer to all those things that make up the productive capacity of the economy, including levels of technological development. The *relations of production* refer to the social relationships between the different economic actors and include property relations, work relations .... (Short, 1996: 94, emphasis added)

Though this study does not explicitly take a political-economy standpoint, it applies the combination of forces and relations of production. The forces of production of public space are mainly elaborated in Chapter 2 and 3 on the development of city squares and the dynamics inducing urban redevelopment. The relations of production are examined by answering the third research question on the involvement of the private sector. As described above, this question requires an actor approach. Actors such as the local government, property developers, and private investors are therefore highlighted in the empirical part of this research. It might seem logical to also include the users, as they 'consume' public space. Mean and Tims (2005) promote the adage 'start with the people'. Carr et al. (1992) also claim that in-depth understanding of public space is best gained in dialogue with actual users. At the same time, they argue that research should not only be directed to the users, but also to the actors involved in the (re)development of public space:

A good evaluation, which includes extensive interviews of all those involved in the design process, as well as observation and interviews of the managers, can approximate the in-depth understanding that could be gained from fully observed cases. It is our strong conviction that public spaces will only be as good as the processes by which they are created and managed and that, therefore, process as well as product needs to be studied .... (Carr et al., 1992: xiii)

The emphasis on actors is part of a broader institutional approach. That approach makes a connection between planning – in this case of public space – on the one hand, and societal and administrative processes on the other (Van Aalst, 1997). It also corresponds to issues raised in the sociological debate on structure/agency. Within this debate, some theorists (mainly classical sociologists like Emile Durkheim) claim that the actions of humans are largely determined by the overall structure of society. Others claim the opposite, stressing the capacity of individual agents to (re)construct the world. A third group balances the two positions and regards structure

and agency as complementary forces (Jary & Jary, 1991). By seeking to investigate the particular role of the actors involved in the redevelopment of public space, the present author falls into the second category.

According to Miles and Huberman (1984, in: Silverman, 2000: 88), "... knowing what you want to find out leads inexorably to the question of how you will get that information ...". The previous section outlined the research questions that are addressed in this thesis. To answer them, multiple sources of data (e.g., academic literature, interviews, policy documents) as well as multiple research methods (e.g., focus group meetings, observation) have been used. This is also known as data- and method-triangulation (Braster, 2000). The different data sources and research methods are briefly listed below; they are described in more depth in Chapter 5, which serves as an intermezzo between the theoretical (Chapter 2-4) and the empirical parts of the thesis (Chapter 6-8). There are five main sources and methods used in the research:

1. *Literature review* (Chapter 2 to 4): a large number of international academic publications have been consulted. The reference list can be found at the end of the thesis.
2. *Document analysis* (Chapter 6 to 8): policy documents and other relevant information on the selected cases have been analysed. These can also be found in the reference list.
3. *Observation*: both the theoretical and empirical part of the thesis are partly based on the author's observation of public space, both in the Netherlands and abroad.
4. *Input from advisory team*: both the theoretical and empirical part of the thesis are partly based on input from a group of experts. The advisory team consisted of both public and private sector actors and had been set up to guide the research. Appendix A provides a list of the nine participants, including two local government representatives, two developers, two investors, a real estate manager, a landscape architect, and an academic researcher. The team has been involved in two ways: via individual in-depth interviews, and in four focus group meetings. Focus group meetings are gatherings between four and eight individuals who are brought together to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher who moderates or structures the discussion (Bedford & Burgess, 2001). More information on the selection and backgrounds of the participants and on the content of the focus group meetings and the interviews is provided in Section 5.3.2.
5. *Semi-structured interviews* (Chapter 6 to 8): the main sources of information in the empirical chapters were in-depth interviews with 38 actors involved in the redevelopment of the selected redevelopment projects. Appendix A also contains a list of these respondents, including their function and the date and location of the interviews. The conversations have been taped, transcribed, and analysed (this also applies to the interviews and focus group meetings with the advisory team). More information on the respondents can be found in Section 5.3.1. The research methods as well as the selected cases are elaborated in Chapter 5.

## 1.6 Academic and social relevance

The large amount of international literature on urban public space implies that much is known on the subject. However, there are still areas that are relatively underexposed. Research on public space has often focused on the users, either in general (e.g., Van Aalst & Ennen, 2001; Müller, 2002; Pasaogullari & Doratli, 2004; Mean & Tims, 2005; Stevens, 2007) or directed at certain

population groups, such as young singles (Gadet, 1999), gays (De Vos, 2005), women (Pain, 2001; Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006), children (Malone, 2002; Valentine, 2004), immigrants and refugees (Pincetl & Gearin, 2005; Rishbeth & Finney, 2006; Yüsecoy, 2006), and skateboarders (Borden, 2001; Németh, 2006). The architectural aspects of public space are also frequently addressed (e.g., Cerver, 1997; Maier-Soljk & Greuter, 2004; Gaventa, 2006; Meyer et al., 2006). However, the actors responsible for developing and managing public space are rarely investigated. Therefore, there is little knowledge available on the nature of private-sector investment and the strategy employed in urban regeneration initiatives (Adair et al., 2003). By researching private-sector involvement in redevelopment processes, the thesis intends to start filling that gap. The underlying theoretical framework is the notion of the entrepreneurial city (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). As a result of deindustrialisation and globalisation processes, cities throughout the world are forced to change their urban policy from 'managerialism to entrepreneurialism' (Harvey, 1989). This includes a shift towards a service-oriented economy as well as the increased involvement of the private sector in urban issues. Both are assumed to have effects on the redevelopment of public space.

Public space is regularly examined by other disciplines, including urban sociology (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Burgers, 2000), political science (Hénaff & Strong, 2001) and anthropology (Low, 2000). In contrast, urban geographers have devoted little attention to (the redevelopment of) public space. Most recent PhD research on Dutch public space has been done by sociologists (Gadet, 1999; Müller, 2002) or planners (Yüsecoy, 2006). Urban geographical research on public space is scarce, and the little there is mostly concerns the users (e.g., Van Aalst & Ennen, 2002). The urban geographer Spierings (2006) applies an actor approach in his research, which concerned large retail concentrations in the city centre rather than public spaces. He distinguishes between the front stage (how consumers use space) and the back stage (how and by whom space is designed and decided upon). Interest within Dutch urban geography is predominantly on the front stage, while the back stage remains underexposed. In addition, the academic literature on public space tends to be descriptive (e.g., Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Madanipour, 2003). Seldom do publications on public space go beyond description to arrive at theorising:

Besides the fact that there is no conceptual closure on what the term 'public space' commonly means, there was also never a proper theory of public space. Instead, what one finds in literature are more-or-less powerful descriptive models that could be professional, academic (disciplinary-based), political, legal or commoner's in origin. What they provide, sometimes successfully, is an inventory of forms and practices that may exist in public space, they may even create a discourse on public space, but rarely would they advance the knowledge on public space or make claims to provide a proper theory of public space .... (Mitrašinović, 2006: 29)

While this thesis is also largely descriptive, its research questions have been formulated to generate a new, urban geographical point of view to the public space debate, one that might lead to the formulation of a theory of public space. The research also seeks to place Dutch public space in an appropriate context. The thesis covers much international literature, like most other public-space research. However, as outlined in Section 1.3, the Dutch situation differs considerably from international examples. The thesis contributes to the international literature on public space by specifically elucidating urban redevelopment processes of city squares in the Netherlands.

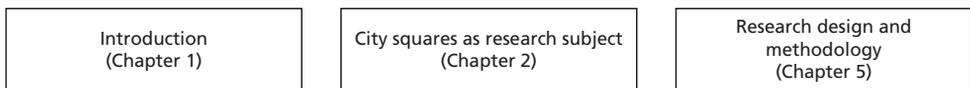
This research is socially relevant in that it investigates the influence of private-sector involvement on public space. Although private investments might improve the design and management

of public space, it could also make that space less accessible. Examples from American malls show that private owners try to achieve their profit-generating potential by increasing their control over public space at the expense of free access (Staehele & Mitchell, 2006). Undesired visitors – usually non-consumers such as vagrants and the homeless but also youngsters – are banned from malls in all kinds of ways. The situation in Dutch public spaces might not be that extreme. Nevertheless, the question of accessibility is still relevant here: how can urban spaces be kept attractive without restricting their use? This is important, as public space is seen as a public good and the foundation for democracy (Hénaff & Strong, 2001). The present research aims to determine the extent to which decreasing free access is a problem in the Netherlands by investigating how the actors involved in the redevelopment of Dutch public spaces deal with issues of access and surveillance.

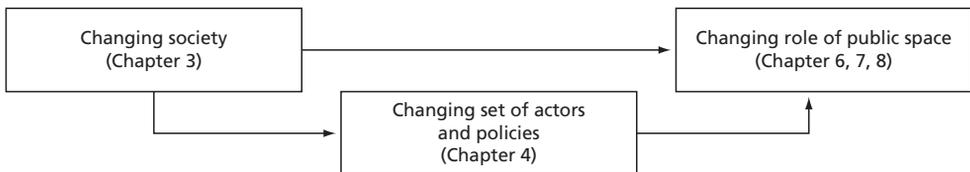
## 1.7 Outline of the thesis

The thesis consists of a theoretical part (Chapter 2-4) and an empirical part (Chapter 6-8), which are separated by a methodological justification in Chapter 5. However, the thesis can also be outlined differently, as visualised in Figure 1.1. The figure divides the thesis into three parts: one introducing and researching public space (covering Chapter 1, 2, and 5); one summarising and evaluating the research results (Chapter 9); and one mid-section that explores the relation between changing society and changing public space (Chapter 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8). The underlying assumption that changes in society can affect public space directly and indirectly via changes in the set of actors and policies will be confronted with theoretical positions and empirical evidence and hopefully be demonstrated as valid. In the course of that confrontation, the envisioned insight will hopefully coalesce.

### Part I: Introducing and researching public space



### Part II: Exploring the relation between a changing society and changing public space



### Part III: Summarising and evaluating the research results

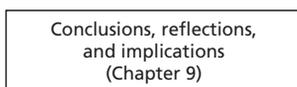


Figure 1.1 Outline of the thesis



## 2 Development and typology of Dutch city squares

Based on: Van Melik, R., J. Van Weesep and I. Van Aalst (2005), *Spiegels van de samenleving: Pleinen door de eeuwen heen*. In: *Sprekende pleinen. Ontmoetingen tussen mensen, wanden en een vloer*. Leusden: BMC.

### 2.1 Introduction

To understand the background of the redevelopment of public space, it is important to trace the current social antecedents that created the necessity for redevelopment. These trends are described in Chapter 3. However, the development of public space hitherto is also of importance. After all, redevelopment is an elaboration on previous stages of development. This chapter therefore provides an overview of the evolution of urban public space from past to present, with a specific focus on city squares. The underlying research question is: *How have the design and management of Dutch city squares evolved through history?* Squares are often seen as centre and symbol of the city (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Crowhurst Lennard & Lennard, 2008). Throughout the centuries, they have been created and used for various purposes: from places to debate societal issues and to exchange commodities to venues for political demonstrations (Webb, 1990). Although these kinds of activities differ from square to square and from period to period, there is a common denominator: most city squares function as meeting places where people spend time in. As such, they can be categorised as *open-minded spaces*. With this term, philosopher Michael Walzer (1986) indicates public space designed for a variety of uses of a less hurried nature, such as strolling and shopping. In these spaces people are open to new experiences and encounters with strangers, as opposed to *single-minded spaces*. These are designed with one objective in mind, for example roads for transportation.

City squares, however, are more than just open-minded urban places. Because their design has been adapted over the years to the changing demands of the users, city squares can be seen as reflections of society (Section 1.1). They are not only meeting points, but also repositories of history and places where societal trends become visible. It is often assumed that cities and their public spaces are the products of planners and architects. Sociologist Henri Lefebvre opposes this idea by stating that urban space is produced by and within a society, expressing all of its contradictions (Lefebvre, 1990). The design and function of public spaces are therefore strongly related to the period in which these spaces were developed. According to Pincetl and Gearin (2005: 367), "... parks have evolved in their design, function, and size as cities have grown and changed, reflecting different societal priorities and understandings of cities, race and class, landscapes, and human-nature relations ...". Public spaces can thus be seen as good reflections of

contemporary society (Gregory & Urry, 1985; MacLaren, 2003). This particularly seems to apply to city squares as a result of their multi-use and open-minded character.

Because of the interesting characteristics of city squares, these particular public spaces have been described in a number of publications (e.g., Webb, 1990; Cerver, 1997; Maier-Soljk & Greuter, 2004; Crowhurst Lennard & Lennard, 2008). These studies often refer to famous Italian city squares, such as the *Piazza San Marco* in Venice and Siena's *Piazza il Campo*, or other well-known European squares, such as the *Köningsplatz* in Munich, the great Flemish market places, and the Parisian city squares. Dutch city squares hardly ever appear in these publications. This might be explained by the absence of imposing Renaissance and Baroque squares (Wagenaar, 1999). Nevertheless, Dutch city squares are interesting research subjects, because they – like other city squares – also reflect the historical development of and current trends within society. They are good examples of public spaces that have been shaped and influenced by a number of typical characteristics of the Dutch society throughout the centuries, including the country's swampy physical conditions and the Calvinistic ethos of its inhabitants.

This chapter gives an overview of the development of the Dutch square, but references to other European squares are also made to put the historical overview in a broader perspective. Non-European squares are left out of the historical description, because this would go beyond the scope of the research. However, information on these non-European squares can be found in other publications, such as Webb (1990), Carr et al. (1992), Ford (2000), Low (2000), and Zengel and Sayar (2004).

The history of urban development in the Netherlands can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Although a few settlements (e.g., Utrecht and Maastricht) were constructed during the time of the Roman Empire, most Dutch cities only arose in the course of the 13th century, when the economy was booming and the population grew swiftly. Most Dutch city squares are of medieval origin and served as market places. Since then, their function and design have gone through a number of stages. Table 2.1 shows the different periods with regard to the development of European city squares. It ranges from the construction of the first European square (the Greek *agora*) around 500 BC to contemporary developments. The indicated time periods are averages that differ between countries. The Renaissance, for example, started in Italy in the 15th century, whereas it flourished in northern parts of Europe only in the 17th century. Besides the time

Table 2.1 Development of European city squares

	Classic (500 BC-500 AD)		Medieval (500-1500)	Pre-industrial (1500-1800)			(Post) Industrial (1800-present)	
	Greek	Roman		Renaissance (1500-1600)	Baroque (1600-1700)	Neoclassic (1700-1800)	Industrial (1800-1960)	Post-industrial (>1960)
Dominant planning form	Organic	Planned	Organic	Planned	Organic	Planned	Organic	Planned
Dominant function	Monofunctional		Multi-functional	Monofunctional			Multifunctional	

Source: after French (1983: 28)

periods, the table illustrates the different functions (i.e., mono- versus multifunctional) as well as the dominant planning form of the eras (i.e., organically evolved versus rationally planned). Obviously, these categories are merely indications or simplifications. It is possible to categorise city squares as dominantly organic or planned, but many places are a combination of both (Carr et al., 1992: 51-52). There are also no values attached to the different categories, in contrast to American historian Lewis Mumford. He also made the distinction between naturally evolved and planned cities or spaces in his influential book *The City in History* (Mumford, 1961). The book provides an overview from the cave dwellers, through Mesopotamia, Babylon, ancient Greece, and Rome, through the Middle Ages and down to the modern city at the middle of the 20th century. Mumford advocates the organic relationship between people and their living spaces in the Middle Ages and warns for the planned structure of Roman and modern cities. The division in Table 2.1 does not profess that one planning form is superior to another.

Each time period indicated in Table 2.1 is elaborated in Section 2.2 to 2.5. Section 2.6 subsequently outlines the different typologies of city squares that have been set up over the years. The overview shows that trends cannot only be observed in the development of squares, but also in the way they are categorised. The knowledge derived from the overview is later applied in Section 5.2.1, in which a new typology of city squares is presented.

## 2.2 Classic squares

Public spaces are as old as the earliest human settlements; from the moment people gave up their nomadic way of live and settled in small villages, there was a need for common spaces and facilities. However, the history of European city squares did not begin in this early period, but started around 500 BC with the construction of the *agora* in cities in Ancient Greece (Webb, 1990: 28). The agora, literally meeting and market, was a relatively large open area located in the heart of the city or near the harbour (Herzog, 2006). It formed the urban centre and was surrounded by public buildings; such has the *Bouleterion* (council chamber) where public meetings were held, commercial buildings such as the *Stoa*, and temples like the *Hephestion*, which served religious purposes (Meyer et al., 2006; Crowhurst Lennard & Lennard, 2008). Initially, the agora developed organically, its irregular shape determined by each individual surrounding building. But by the 3rd century BC, regularity and enclosure gradually became the norm (Jongepier, 1988; Webb, 1990).

The agora was regarded as the essential component of a free city or *polis*, a symbol of democracy (Webb, 1990; Madanipour, 1999; Hénaff & Strong, 2001). However, the agora was also the place of citizenship: "... without sharing the life of the polis no person could ever develop or exercise the virtues and qualities that distinguish men from beasts ..." (Dahl, 1989: 15). The agora was only sporadically used as market place; it rather functioned as assembly- or classroom. Philosopher Socrates, for example, taught his student Plato in a corner of the agora: "Certainly much of Plato's inspiration generated from these teachings and from the marvel of democracy in action, all about him in the square ..." (French, 1983: 52). Because of these characteristics, the agora can best categorised as democratic public space: space in which issues regarding the urban community can be brought up, discussed, and decided upon (Oosterman, 1993: 55). Oosterman also distinguishes other categories of public space, based on aspects of holiness, security, democracy, trade, and traffic.

The Classic successor of the Greek agora was the Roman *forum*. This type of city square also functioned as democratic public space, but its planning form differed from the agora. Whereas the Greek squares were mostly organically grown, the Romans conducted a more rational manner of city planning, which led to more uniform city squares (Meyer et al., 2006; Crowhurst Lennard & Lennard, 2008). With the expansion of the Roman Empire the forum also arose in northwest Europe. Yet its remnants are very scarce in the Netherlands: the few that are known to have existed are often deeply buried under sediments or hidden in cellars of old buildings. However, the main classic ideology of city squares as democratic public spaces has not perished over the years, but is still often pursued in the development of contemporary squares. Nevertheless, it is questionable to what extent the agora and forum were real democratic spaces. Dahl (1989: 22) states a large part of the adult population, including women, long-term aliens (*metics*), and slaves, was denied full citizenship and consequently had no right to participate in the political life of the agora. Low and Smith (2006) therefore conclude that the definition of public space that prevailed in ancient Greece was rather narrow and has perhaps been an unintentionally appropriate inspiration for present public spaces: "In practice, in both the Greece of old and the Western world today, truly public space is the exception not the rule ..." (Low & Smith, 2006: 4).

### 2.3 Medieval squares

While classic public spaces are not present in Dutch cities, medieval city squares are abundant. Many Dutch city squares, as well as most squares in France, Belgium, and Germany, originate from the Middle Ages. The medieval Dutch society, which consisted of numerous autonomous counties and duchies, was characterised by a powerful trade-oriented bourgeoisie rather than by a religious regime. Therefore, city squares often served the need to reload or trade goods and frequently functioned as market places. Not surprisingly, medieval squares can thus be regarded as 'trading' or 'commercial' places within Oosterman's (1993) categorisation of public space. The market function is often still noticeable in a square's name, for example the *Koemarkt* (cow market) in Purmerend and the *Vismarkt* (fish market) in Utrecht (Figure 2.1).

The form and location of city squares were highly dependent on both road networks and the presence of certain buildings. Some squares, known as *largo* (wide street) developed as widenings of a main thoroughfare (French, 1983), while others occurred at the crossroads of streets. Some city squares were created in the vicinity of the town gate. In times of war, these squares were used as military assembly points, while in times of peace they functioned as parking space for horses and wagons (De Vries, 1990). Squares were also constructed as courtyards or forecourts of churches. These church squares, named *parvis* (Zucker, 1959), originally functioned as cemeteries, but when cities grew and space for trading became scarce they were often transformed into market places. This was not the case in some bishop cities, such as Utrecht, in which squares were located both in the *civus*, the trading areas including the market squares, and in the *civitas*, the immunities with a central church square. Because the church squares in immunities belonged to the ecclesiastic area, they could not be used as market place, although they were often much larger than regular church squares. Also after the abolition of the immunities by the end of the Middle Ages, these church squares often retained a representative character rather than a trading function (De Vries, 1990). Recently, there are plans to transform some *parvis* into children playgrounds. The Dutch Protestant church and national youth fund (*Jantje Beton*) try



Figure 2.1 The Vismarkt (fish market) in Utrecht as example of a vault square

to stimulate local authorities to realise playgrounds and meeting places around churches. The so-called *Kerkspeelplein* ('church-play-square') has already emerged in The Hague (Jansen, 2006).

Besides road networks and the presence of gates or churches, the form and location of Dutch medieval squares also strongly depended on watercourses (Meyer et al., 2006). Due to the swampy physical conditions of Dutch cities, which were characterised by wetlands and canals, many city squares emerged near waterways. Some were constructed over canals as broad bridges (*vault square*), while others arose alongside a dike (*dam square*), river or canal (*wharf square*) as places where ships were unloaded and goods were traded. When dry lands became scarcer due to population growth, some of these waterways were filled in order to create more trading space (*filled square*) (De Vries, 1990). These waterway-related squares, such as the Vismarkt (Figure 2.1), are typical for medieval Dutch towns and are hardly encountered in other European cities.

The main function of medieval squares was trading. However, as a result of increasing economic wealth, medieval cities grew swiftly and became overpopulated. Private indoor space was scarce. People therefore needed public space not only for trading, but also for their leisure activities. The market square was thus both the merchant and social centre of cities during the Middle Ages (Webb, 1990). This changed in the 14th century, when the increased wealth of the nobles led to one of the first forms of suburbanisation. Residence and business grew apart, classes separated and social stratification began. Many medieval squares turned from hectic working environments to ceremonial areas, like the Belgian market squares in Antwerp and Brussels, or the *Dam* in Amsterdam.

## 2.4 Squares from the Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassic period

In his book *Town and Square* Zucker (1959: 97) states that medieval squares owe their beauty to the gradual growth throughout the centuries, each epoch adding its specific architectural values, but never the intent of conscious planning. In contrast, the city squares that were constructed during the 16th, 17th, and 18th century were mostly the result of rational planning. Classic literature, drama, music, sculpture, and architecture were rediscovered as a result of increasing wealth and leisure time. This trend, also known as Humanism, can be regarded as the guiding force of the Renaissance (French, 1983). Eventually, it resulted in the creation of well-balanced Renaissance squares, with an emphasis on regularity, spatial unity, and enclosure, such as the *Place des Vosges* in Paris. The concept of city squares designed as unity slowly gained interest:

In the Middle Ages the idea that a large main square surrounded with handsome buildings contributed to the beauty as well as the utility of a city had been widely recognized (...) But to build a whole square to an integrated symmetrical design was an alien concept. The Renaissance, to begin with, made no difference: a number of lovely paintings of ideal city squares survive from the 15th century, and they all show the squares surrounded by buildings of harmonious classical design, but without any symmetrical relationship to each other .... (Girouard, 1985: 126)

The *Piazza Ducale* in Vigevano, a small town close to Milan, is one of the first squares that was completely planned during the Renaissance (Zucker, 1959; Girouard, 1985). Originally, this square did not function as a public space, but as a forecourt of the palace of the duke (Jongepier, 1988). The walls of the square show identical arcades, windows, and heights. Other examples are *La Grand' Place* and *La Place des Héros* in the French city Arras and the *Grote Markt* in the Belgian capital of Brussels (Zucker, 1959; Jongepier, 1988). As stated earlier, most Dutch cities are of medieval origin. The town *Coevorden* in the northern part of the Netherlands can, however, be regarded as a Renaissance city, including a central city square and radiating streets. Coevorden is in fact almost a copy of *Palma Nuova*, the first realisation of the utopian ideas of Renaissance theoreticians, which was probably built in 1593 by Vincenzo Scamozzi.

According to French (1983: 82), the builders of Renaissance towns rarely achieved large-scale rational concepts. However, they provided the impetus for planners in the 17th (Baroque period) and 18th (Neo-Classical period) centuries by declaring their principles of regularity, spatial unity and enclosure. Baroque is a term that in the 17th century came to represent the reawakening of church principles as a result of the Catholic Contra reformation in reaction to Protestantism. With regard to urban design, however, Baroque had no religious connotation. It indicated the typical radial street system that was developed first in Rome and later in many other European cities. The radial square was the hub or node of this street system (French, 1983). Although some of these squares served as traffic coordinators, such as the *Place d'Etoile* in Paris, the radial square generally functioned as meeting point and promenading site for the *flâneurs*. Furthermore, it had an important symbolic function as representative space for the display of power of the *ancient regime* (Wagenaar, 1999). This not only applies to the squares from the Renaissance, Baroque, and Neo-Classical period, but also to squares that have been created more recently in the socialist parts of Eastern Europe. According to Szelenyi (1996: 301-2), "... urban planners in a socialist society were in a much better position than planners in a capitalist society to use urban space in a more aesthetic manner, for the purposes of symbolic, political needs ...". The *Casa Poporului* in Boekarest is an example of this policy. For the construction of this palace and the square in front of it, one-fifth of the city was pulled down in

1985 on behest of the communist leader Ceausescu. Similarly, the large *Place Vendôme* in Paris had been constructed by the end of the 17th century as metaphor of the supremacy of King Louis XIV. Also Sennett (1978) emphasises the monumental function of squares:

The great urban places were not to concentrate all activities of the surrounding streets; the street was not to be the gateway to the life of the square (...) the square was to be a monument itself, with restricted activities taking place in its midst, activities mostly of passage or transport .... (Sennett, 1978: 54)

Many examples of Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassic squares are found in Paris and other European cities like Rome, Brussels, and Madrid. In England, the idea that a square was necessarily a place for public assembly was less strong. This resulted in a small number of large squares and the enclosure of others (Girouard, 1985). In the Netherlands, these kinds of traffic and representative squares can also hardly be found, with the exception of the *Keizer Karelplein* in Nijmegen and the *Plein 1813* in The Hague (Meyer et al., 2006).

The absence of imposing squares in the Netherlands can be explained by a number of societal characteristics of the Dutch Republic. The creation of large squares was only possible in strong regimes in centralistic societies that could afford the high construction costs (Wagenaar, 1999). This was not the case in the Netherlands: the Dutch Republic was known for its unique federal state structure with no central authority. It was a society in which cities and urban elites set the tone, rather than a feudal society in which the nobility reigned, as was the case in many surrounding countries (Prak, 2002). Individual *stadtholders* such as William of Orange (1533-1584) ruled over the cities, but they did not create large-scale city squares. One of Williams' successors, Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), did attempt to upgrade the status of the Oranges, but his endeavour was limited to marrying off his children to notable royal courts and ordering the construction of classic buildings in The Hague (Prak, 2002). However, it did not entail the creation of large city squares. This might be explained by the general Dutch Calvinistic ethos, by which austerity was preferred to grandeur. Even though the Dutch Republic was one of the leading economies in this period, economic prosperity was rather manifested in private possessions than in large public spaces. The development of these squares was also impeded by the swampy physical conditions of Dutch cities (Wagenaar, 1999). Moreover, the Republic was not only characterised by wetlands and canals, but also by a relatively large urban population. By 1670 one-third of the population lived in settlements with more than 10.000 residents, while in most other European countries this number was below 15 per cent (Prak, 2002). The rare public spaces in these wet and populous merchant cities were used for trading rather than promenading and the display of power. Therefore, only a few Dutch city squares originate from the period 1500-1800. These few squares were mostly marginal spaces, resulting from badly connected parcels (Wagenaar, 1999).

## 2.5 Industrial and post-industrial squares

The end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century saw the birth of several key inventions, such as the introduction of Bessemer steel and the steamship (Short, 1996). These inventions resulted in the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century. The numbers of factories and industries grew, and attracted machine minders from rural areas. In a short period of time, many people migrated to the coalfields and ports, which eventually led to overpopulated cities. The

space for city squares became scarce and the demand for these kinds of public spaces diminished: “Increasingly, as city plans were stripped of all frills and became uninterrupted grids, the public demanded not squares but parks, an escape from the urban jungle ...” (Webb, 1990: 125). The few city squares that actually have been created in the 19th century, such as the *Piazza del Popolo* in Rome, almost immediately functioned as a traffic hub rather than as a place to spend time in (Jongepier, 1988).

Despite the decrease in available space, a new kind of square was laid out in the 19th century: the train station square. The industrialisation process enabled developments within the field of transportation, including the construction of the railroad system. It emerged relatively slowly in the Netherlands compared to other European countries. For example, the railway system in Belgium developed much faster. The explanation can be found in the existence of the Dutch waterway system, which enabled comfortable and reliable transport by means of towboats. Belgium could no longer make use of this system after the separation from the Netherlands in 1830. Therefore, it needed a new transport system to connect Antwerp’s harbour with the German hinterland. In the Netherlands, the first railway line was constructed between Amsterdam and Haarlem in 1839. Train stations soon became the new gateways to the city and the adjacent squares became the main market places. Goods were no longer transported to the central city square, but were sold in the vicinity of the station (French, 1983).

In the course of the 20th century, station squares gradually lost this market function and transformed into large-scale traffic junctions, dominated by wagons, trams, buses, and automobiles. In addition, most other Dutch city squares were turned into parking lots during the second half of the 20th century. This transformation resulted from new planning processes, which were highly influenced by the modernist philosophy of the CIAM movement (*Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*). According to the CIAM, social encounters should not take place in public space, but in adequate places as community centres (Jongepier, 1988). It also propagated the separation of functions and the creation of functional space. Public space was only regarded as space that had to allow people to get from one point to another as quickly as possible (Hajer, 1989: 15). City squares were unnecessary, unless they could facilitate traffic as parking lots. The CIAM philosophy resulted in large clearances in the historic structure of cities and the transformation of city squares into parking spaces (Brunt & Deben, 2001). The *Museumplein* in Amsterdam and the *Neude* in Utrecht (Figure 2.2) are good examples of this transition. The few city squares that were nevertheless constructed differed from prior enclosed squares: they were often spacious, open shopping squares (RPB, 2004).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the car was gradually banished from the surface of city squares, but often remained nearby in underground parking garages (e.g., underneath the *Vrijthof* in Maastricht or the *Plein* in The Hague). In lieu of the cars came design benches, lampposts, sidewalk cafés, and new pavements. The development was presumably triggered or at least influenced by a worldwide trend of large-scale (waterfront) redevelopments that started in the late-1970s. This trend is also known as *Rousification* after developer James Rouse (Hall, 2002). These waterfront developments were characterised by the incorporation of new combinations of activities: recreation, culture, shopping, and mixed-income housing. Large-scale redevelopments as in Boston, Baltimore or the London Docklands have only limitedly occurred in the Netherlands. However, the main characteristics are also present in the redevelopment of public space in general, in which renewal of existing structures and recreation, culture, and shopping also play an important role (Section 3.3).



*Figure 2.2* Neude in Utrecht in 1989, view on the south side of the square.  
Source: Utrechts Archief ([www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl](http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl)), no. 13902.



*Figure 2.3* Neude in 2007. The south side of the square is now used as sidewalk café. In summertime the tables and chairs are extended to the square's centre.

Figure 2.2 and 2.3 show the transformation of the Neude in Utrecht from a parking lot into a café square. The square was redeveloped in the 1990s; cars were banished and the square was repaved and accommodated with design benches. This transformation appears to be the new trend in the development of Dutch city squares. By the turn of the century, the square has regained its function as meeting point and has transformed into a place where consumption and leisure have become the dominant functions. As in medieval times, city squares have become commercial public spaces, although now the transactions often contain a glass of beer rather than a stock of trading goods (Oosterman, 1993). The trend has had positive influences on the design of city squares: cars have been banned from the square in return for sidewalk cafés, fountains, statues, quasi-historical street lighting, and the organisation of many events. At the same time, safety has become an important issue in the design and management of public space. Chapter 3 describes these two simultaneous developments in more detail. Some researchers wonder whether this most recent development is not simply a degeneration that turns city squares into mere entertainment centres (Mommaas, 2003).

The Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research acknowledges another recent turn in the development of Dutch city squares. It describes the rise of 'new' squares as the result of increased mobility, mass consumption, and recreation (RPB, 2004). With the term new squares, spaces are indicated that have come to existence on places with good accessibility, at the city's edge or along highways. These new squares are actually perceived as 'public' squares, but have initially not been created for that purpose, like shopping plaza's, halls of hospitals, airports, gas stations, and amusement parks (RPB, 2004: 116). They are identified as 'new', because they often have an extraordinary form, are located in unusual places and have a temporary character. Nevertheless,

### **Transformation of the Dam in Amsterdam**

#### *The medieval Dam*

The Dam in Amsterdam is a good example of a town square that arose in the Middle Ages in the vicinity of a waterway. In 1270 a dike was constructed in the river Amstel. Although this dam was provided with sluices, some ships could not continue their journey and needed to reload or trade their cargo on the riverside. The Dam initially served as fish market. In the second half of the 16th century, the square became too small to host this market and the accompanying weighing-house. Therefore, a number of houses were demolished between 1562 and 1567 in order to enlarge this 'dam square' (De Vries, 1990).

#### *The pre-industrial Dam*

In 1655 the Dam almost doubled in size. The town council had decided to build a new city hall on the westside of the square. Over 60 parcels of land had to be acquired for this construction, and again a number of buildings were demolished. This city hall, designed by Jacob van Campen, was the largest public building project of the Dutch Republic. Van Campen used the ideal typical model of the classic forum to construct the city hall; it therefore encompasses the classic prescripts of regularity and spatial unity

(Prak, 2002; Meyer et al., 2006). By the end of the 18th century the Dam still functioned as fish market, symbolised by the weighing-house on the middle of the square. However, in 1808 Louis Napoleon ordered to pull down this structure, as it distorted the view from the city hall, which he had turned into his own palace. The final end of the fish market came in 1841, when parts of the Amstel were filled to construct a new exchange building, which permanently separated the Dam from the city's harbour.

### *The (post) industrial Dam*

In the 19th and 20th century the Dam transformed from a mercantile square into a 'national' public space that is often used for demonstrations, celebrations and commemorations at the foot of the national war memorial, which was constructed in 1956 to honour the victims of the Second World War (Figure 2.4). Also when the Dam is not used for these official purposes, it serves as gathering point for many people. Thanks to this meeting function, the Dam has never been converted into parking space, in contrast to many other Dutch town squares. Nevertheless, the Dam was dominated by traffic flows (cars, trams) by the end of the 20th century. In 2001 the city of Amsterdam has therefore invested €13 million in pavement and street furniture to turn the central square into a pedestrian friendly area.



Figure 2.4 The Dam in Amsterdam, including national war memorial on the right

they are categorised as squares because their function as meeting point is not different from other 'old' city squares. Not everybody agrees with this argumentation. Some, for example, state that 'real' city squares require historicity and the sensation of experienced times, and therefore traffic squares and shopping plazas cannot (yet) be categorised as city squares (Mommaas, 2003: 26).

Dutch city squares have thus gone through numerous transformations over time. The text box describes the development of one of the most famous Dutch city squares: the Dam in Amsterdam. It is a medieval square that originated as fish market and has evolved throughout the centuries into its current state as tourist attraction, political arena, and meeting place. It therefore is a good epitome of the development of Dutch city squares.

## 2.6 Typologies of city squares

The evolution of city squares described in the previous sections is also identifiable in the typologies of city squares that have been set up. This is not surprising, since many of the categorisations have focussed on the form or the function of squares, which have varied throughout time. From the 19th century onwards, a number of researchers have established typologies of public space in general (e.g., Carr et al., 1992; Burgers, 2000; Madanipour, 2003; Meyer et al., 2006), and city squares in particular (e.g., Zucker, 1959; French, 1983). According to Dordregter (2003), the simplest classification of city squares consists of two types: squares where people actually spend time in, and monumental squares, which are designed as 'forecourt' or *parvis* of a particular building or monument. However, most classifications consist of more than two types, as can be seen in Table 2.2. The table provides an overview of all typologies on city squares that were found in the (academic) literature. The typologies have been ordered on the basis of the year of publication. It appears that not only the number of types differs, but also the main variables on which the types are based. Some typologies focus on the form of city squares, whereas others concentrate on the main function.

As Table 2.2 points out, the German scientist Stübben was the first one to set up a typology on city squares. He distinguished four types of squares on the basis of their dominant function: *Nutzplätze* (utilitarian squares), *Verkehrsplätze* (traffic squares), *Gartenplätze* (garden squares), and *Architekturplätze* (squares that are dominated by surrounding buildings). The first Dutch typology, developed in Peteri's dissertation in 1913 (De Vries, 1990) is rather similar. Peteri also acknowledged market and traffic squares, and added a category of squares that provide a moment of quietude. De Vries (1990: 19) argues that this categorisation is incomplete, because squares can have more than these three functions. He uses the origin of a square as independent variable. Basically, his typology is twofold: city squares can either be categorized as squares resulting from traditional city building (pre-1675), or as squares that have been created in line of modern city building (post-1875). De Vries regards the period 1675-1875 as stagnation phase in which, as described earlier, hardly any squares were constructed in the Netherlands. In more detail, De Vries provides over 20 different types of city squares, including traditional types determined by watercourses (i.e., dam square, wharf square), roads (i.e., junction square, waterway square), and buildings (i.e., gate square, castle square, church square), and modern types such as train station squares. The disadvantage of the categorisation is that a square's origin is often difficult to detect,

because its situation has altered through time. The Dam in Amsterdam, for example, originated as dam square, but has currently no watercourse in its immediate vicinity. Moreover, the large number of types makes De Vries' typology difficult to apply in practice.

Jongepier's (1988) classification also takes into account the origin of squares, but combines this with their current function. His second type, for example, consists of squares that have been sparkling centres, but have become lifeless outdoor museums or traffic junctions. However, Jongepier fails to specify which functions or facilities a city square must actually entail in order to be or remain a lively centre. Klaassen (1994) is more precise in describing the function or facilities of city squares. His classification is based on both the function of the square and its location

*Table 2.2* Typologies on city squares in previous research

Author	Year	Focus	Categories
Stübben (in: De Vries, 1990)	1890	Function	1. Utilitarian squares (Nutzplätze) 2. Traffic squares (Verkehrsplätze) 3. Garden squares (Gartenplätze) 4. Design squares (Architekturplätze)
Peteri (in: De Vries, 1990)	1913	Function	1. Market squares 2. Traffic squares 3. Squares for quietude
Gantner (in: De Vries, 1990)	1928	Form	1. Star-shaped squares (Sternplätze) 2. Enclosed, rectangular squares (Geschlossene rechteckige Plätze)
Zucker	1959	Form	1. Closed squares 2. Dominated squares 3. Nuclear squares 4. Amorphous squares
Krier	1975	Form	1. Square-shaped squares 2. Circle-shaped squares 3. Triangle-shaped squares
Jongepier	1988	Function	1. Squares that are lively centres of the city 2. Squares that were lively centres of the city 3. Squares designed as forecourt 4. Squares designed as traffic junctions
De Vries	1990	Function	1. Squares resulting from traditional city building (pre-1675) 2. Squares resulting from modern city building (post-1875)
Carr et al.	1992	Function	1. Central square 2. Corporate plaza
Klaassen	1994	Function	1. Primary squares 2. Recreational squares 3. Facility squares 4. Garden City squares 5. City squares
Dordregter	2003	Function	1. Squares where people actually spend time in 2. Monumental squares
DN Urbland	2005	Form	1. Square with dominant floor and walls (A) 2. Square with dominant floor (B) 3. Square with dominant walls (C) 4. Square with dominant central buildings (D) 5. Square as part of urban structure/dividing square (E) 6. Hybrid square (F)

within the urban fabric. He distinguishes the primary square (orientating function with hardly any facilities, like parking lots and public parks), recreational square (playground with little traffic and few facilities), facility square (small to medium-sized squares with a concentration of both facilities for the neighbourhood and traffic), Garden City square (combination of recreation and facility square in compact neighbourhoods), and the city square (centrally located within the urban fabric) (Klaassen, 1994: 22-23).

Some researchers argue that function is not the correct criterion to categorise city squares, because it is not fixed in time and can alter without changes in the form or design of squares. Zucker, for example, states that:

The specific function of a square, for instance as a market square, as a traffic center, or as parvis, never produces automatically a definite spatial form. Each particular function may be expressed in many different shapes .... (Zucker, 1959: 8)

According to Zucker, a typology should be spatial, focussing on form rather than function. He presented four different types of squares: the closed, dominated, nuclear, and amorphous square (Zucker, 1959: 9-16). The closed square is a complete enclosure interrupted only by some streets, such as the *Place des Vosges* in Paris. The dominated square is characterised by one individual structure like a church, palace or town hall to which the open space is directed and to which all other surrounding structures are related, for example the *Plaza San Pietro* in Rome. However, the dominant structure can also be a fountain (e.g., *Fontana di Trevi* in Rome) or a void, offering a view to a broad river, open sea or lagoon (e.g., *La Praça Do Comercio* in Lisbon). The nuclear square contains a strong vertical accent in the form of a monument, fountain or obelisk, which draws the attention to the centre of the square, such as the *Place Vendôme* in Paris. The amorphous square is rather formless and unorganised because of the heterogeneity of the surrounding buildings of crossing traffic, such as *Times Square* in New York and *Place de l'Opéra* in Paris. The typology of DN Urbland (2005), a Dutch agency for planning and landscape architecture, is rather similar (see Figure 2.5). It also distinguishes a closed square (type A to C) and a dominated square (type D). Interestingly, the typology also includes a hybrid type (F), which combines all elements of the other types.

Another author that has also focused on form rather than function is architect Rob Krier (1975). He discerns three groups of public spaces (*Raumtypen*) on the basis of their ground plan: the square, the circle and the triangle. Subsequently, he combines the form of the square with different façades and access routes to the square, with either *geschlossen* (closed) or *offen* (open) squares as result. The size of the square determines its final spatial effect (Krier, 1975). Krier's work is extensive, but presents the different development phases of city squares rather than a clear typology. Gantner (1928, in De Vries, 1990: 13) does not provide an extensive typology either. He focuses on French cities, especially Paris, and describes only two types of city squares on the basis of their form: der *Sternplatz* (star-shaped square) and der *geschlossene rechteckige Platz* (enclosed, rectangular square). Some authors have used an additional category to indicate a clustering of squares. Stübgen, for example, uses the term *Doppelplätze* to refer to two squares located in each other's vicinity (De Vries, 1990). Gantner refers to the same phenomenon as *Platzgruppe*, while Zucker (1959) defines it as clustered squares. A well-known example of a cluster of squares can be found in Venice. Here, the *Piazza San Marco* is directly connected to the so-called *Piazzetta*. Together they form a L-shape. The Piazza and Piazzetta are so closely connected that outsiders might not even acknowledge that the open space actually consists of two squares. However, the

connection can also be less clear-cut when two or more squares are located on a short distance from one another. The category is relevant to the empirical part of this research, as four clusters of squares are investigated.

What can be learnt from the previous overview that can be used in the formation of a new typology in Section 5.2? Table 2.2 shows that the focus on form is dominant among the more dated publications by German authors (i.e., Gantner, Zucker (albeit written in English), and Krier). This morphological approach is typical for German geographers, especially in the 19th and early 20th century. The focus on material form or the visible landscape in geography was never quite as dominant in more Anglo-Saxon research traditions. Instead, the main focus was directed to societal trends, processes, and the function of geographical phenomena. From the 1950s onwards, this approach gained importance, which Rhoads (2005) defines as the turn from form to process. Since then, if form is still considered in geographical research, it is often directed to its meaning to people or to the way these forms are shaped by human actions. Typologies based on form also have a number of disadvantages. They deceptively suggest a static nature, but even form is eventually prone to changes. Zucker also acknowledges this:

Being part of the living organism of a city with its changing socioeconomic and technical conditions, a square is never completed. In contrast to a painting or a sculpture, there is no last stroke of the brush or any final mark of the chisel (...) Elements of the square, however, such as the surrounding structures, individual monuments, fountains, etc., are subject to the flux of time (...) Thus the original form of squares and streets may undergo fundamental changes .... (Zucker, 1959: 5)

Also Jongepier (1988: 9) states that many typologies based on morphology or geometric principles fail to describe the current conditions of squares, which might differ from the situation at the time of origin. Vernez-Moudan (1994, in Meyer et al., 2006) therefore argues in favour of the concept of *typomorphology*, in which different types of public space are connected to the whole urban composition. A particular type is then not only defined by its spatial design, but also by its location within the urban fabric. Nevertheless, form appears to be an outdated classification tool in typologies on public space.

Function, on the other hand, seems to be a useful criterion in a typology of city squares, because it indicates the contribution of a square to the social and economic urban structure of a city. Does it provide a vibrant atmosphere in which people can shop, consume, or be entertained or does it in contrast offer a moment of quietude; does it have a political, representative function as civil public space or is it used more functionally as market place or parking lot? These functions can be combined within a single place; squares are known and praised for their heterogeneous character (Mommaas, 2003). Because of their relative openness, they can be used as market

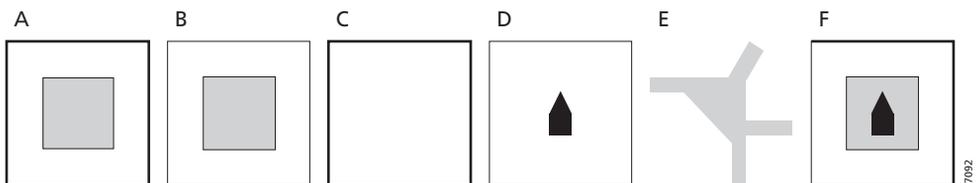


Figure 2.5 DN Urbland's typology of city squares. Source: DN Urbland (2005).

place on one day, a concert on the other day, and just remain empty on the next. According to Meyer et al. (2006: 88) this is especially true for Dutch squares, which tend to combine different functions or meanings (e.g., simultaneously being a town hall square, market square, and church square). In contrast, South-European cities often have separate, homogenous squares: a *signoria* (civic square), a *marcato* (market place), and a cathedral square. These homogenous squares do not necessarily function badly compared to multifunctional squares. In some cases, nearby squares are complementary to each other. Maastricht is a good example: the three central squares are each relatively homogenous (the civic *Vrijthof* with a theatre, the old government building and a cathedral, the *Markt* with the market and some parking facilities, and the *Onze Lieve Vrouweplein*, which is dominated by a historic church and cafés and terraces), but together they combine most functions squares can have. Focusing on the function of a square therefore not only reveals developments within and characteristics of society, but also describes the role of the square within the urban context of the city.

Of course, functional typologies also come with a number of disadvantages. The function of squares can change over time, which might lead to typologies that are rapidly outdated or never fully complete because new functions may emerge. Moreover, squares might have multiple functions, resulting in squares that fit more than one type. These are known as hybrid squares. The *Museumplein* in Amsterdam, for example, is a combination between a square and a park, and can therefore be regarded as a ‘multilateral’ hybrid (Meyer et al., 2006). The *Onze Lieve Vrouweplein* is a café square during most of the year but becomes a *parvis* in winter, and can thus be defined as ‘temporal’ hybrid. There are other kinds of hybrids, which are often more interesting than the original prototypes (Meyer et al., 2006). However, the description of hybrid spaces would not be possible without the prototypes. The classification of DN Urbland (2005) gets around the problem by including the hybrid square as type (F in Figure 2.5). However, this rather seems to be a residual category than a solution to the problem. Typologies are simplified versions of reality, and the problem of multiplicity is therefore almost inevitable, regardless of the selected criteria.

## 2.7 Conclusions

The notion of city squares as reflections of an evolving society has been the central line of thought in this chapter. The historic overview has been largely based on a literature research. Some caution is in place, because some sources describe city squares in an over-picturesque way:

We’ve put together, in a romanticized jumble, a set of images of many forms of public life from many different times: A Platonic ideal of peripatetic discourse on the aesthetics of justice in the Greek stoa – combined with movie images of romantically hurly-burly urban street scenes set in a timeless “anytime” from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance – combined with Parisian Boulevardiers, elegantly and daringly dressed, witty sophisticated cosmopolitans, holding court in cafes .... (Brill, 1989: 9)

Albeit perhaps slightly romanticised, the overview shows that the function and design of public space have been adapted over the years, which makes city squares great historical depositories of the developments and characteristics of a society. Dutch town squares, for example, are often used today as market place. This market function can be traced back to the Middle Ages, when the Dutch society was characterised by a powerful trade-oriented bourgeoisie. Societal features

can also explain why certain squares are lacking in the Netherlands. The absence of large Baroque and Neoclassic squares can be linked to the unique federal state structure of the Dutch Republic, which was not ruled by a central authority. Public spaces thus reflect society. This notion is not new (e.g., Gregory & Urry, 1985; see Section 1.1), but it is becoming increasingly topical because society becomes more complex and dynamic. Consequently, public space also becomes more dynamic, resulting in many redevelopment projects. David Harvey (1989: 11) states in this regard: “The vast and rapid transformations occurring since the late 19th century led people to remark that the only secure thing about modernity is insecurity ...”.

Besides the development of city squares, this chapter has also provided an overview of existing typologies of Dutch squares. A literature review has detected over ten different typologies that have been set up in the last century. These typologies can broadly be divided into two groups: some that focus on morphology or form and others that concentrate on function. The overview serves as input for the development of a new typology of city squares in Chapter 5. The new typology is subsequently used as a first step in the selection of case studies. Because this research is directed to investigating the relation between changing societies and changing public space, typologies based on function seem most appropriate. After all, the overview has shown that the function of a square reveals developments within and characteristics of society. Therefore, function plays a central role in the new typology of Dutch city squares presented in Section 5.2.1.



# 3 Current trends in the design and management of public space

Based on: Van Melik, R., I. Van Aalst and J. Van Weesep (2007), Fear and fantasy in the public domain: The development of secured and themed urban space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12(1), pp. 25-42.

## 3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 has shown that changes in public space reflect changes in society. Although the built environment cannot always keep pace with its users' changing characteristics and demands, it will eventually adjust to societal changes (Van Aalst & Ennen, 2002). Researchers from the Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research (RPB, 2004) also state that societal changes ought to form the point of departure to interpret urban space. To understand the increasing number of redeveloped public spaces, it is thus necessary to look at changes that currently occur in society. The twofold research question central in this chapter is therefore: *What are the current trends in the design and management of Dutch public space? Which socio-cultural, economic, and political dynamics have induced these trends?*

The previous chapter described the different functions and designs city squares have held throughout the centuries. The central line of thought in this historic description was the notion of city squares as reflections of an evolving society. This argumentation can also be extended into the future, since current and forthcoming societal developments will also leave their imprints on public space. As described in the previous chapter, major investments have already been made to reinvigorate dilapidated public spaces by banning cars, laying new pavements, installing street furniture, and so on. Each of these redesigned projects seemed to be inspired by two considerations. Either it created *secured* space, taking steps to increase safety and reduce feelings of *fear*, or it induced *themed* space, focusing on urban entertainment and *fantasy*. On the one hand, a rising anxiety about crime induced people to avoid the public domain of the city and retreat into the private sphere (Montgomery, 1997; Banerjee, 2001; Ellin, 2001). Yet the appeal of urban entertainment also grew, inducing people to indulge in fantasy and new experiences outside the home (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). The design and management of public space seems to be responding to these two trends. However, the *ecology of fear* (Davis, 1998) and the *ecology of fantasy* (Crawford, 1990) are not separate realms. Rather, they are two aspects of the same tendency towards greater control over public space. This argument is elaborated in Section 3.4.

The terms fear and fantasy might seem value-laden. Fear suggests a negative perception of certain places, while fantasy has predominantly positive connotations. However, they are used in a neutral sense here; secured and themed public spaces are neither negative nor positive spatial developments. For instance, themed events in public space might create a lively atmosphere,

but they may also bring inconveniences such as noise and litter. Sections 3.2 and 3.3 expand on examples of secured and themed public space. Section 3.4 then turns to the societal changes or trends that have induced these developments, such as the differentiation of urban lifestyles and the increasing mobility of goods, services, people, investments, and knowledge. The chapter, which is largely based on a review of international literature, ends with conclusions on the application of the concepts of fear and fantasy in public space in Section 3.5.

### 3.2 Secured public space

Many publications on urban space emphasise the public's sense of fear and the methods used to counteract this perception (e.g., Davis, 1992; Tiesdell & Oc, 1998; Cybriwsky, 1999; Carmona et al., 2003; Atkinson & Helms, 2007; see also the 2001 special issue of *Urban Studies*, including Bannister & Fyfe, 2001 and Ellin, 2001.) Secured public space is characterised by measures to generate (a sense of) safety, such as the installation of CCTV (Closed-Circuit Television) and the enforcement of restrictive local ordinances. The focus on safety in public space is as old as the first urban settlements (Coaffee, 2003). In fact, the creation and walling in of cities was triggered in the first place by the wish to create safe places (Van den Berg et al., 2006). Safety also played a significant role in the redevelopment of 19th century Paris by Haussman. According to Harvey, ... there were many then (just as now) who saw the new boulevards as spaces of militarization, surveillance, and control. The building of new boulevards in the Second Empire was considered strategic, designed to permit free lines of fire and to bypass the hard to assail barricades erected in narrow, torturous streets (...). The new boulevards were construed as public spaces to facilitate the state's protection of bourgeois private property.... (Harvey, 2006: 20)

The newness of secured public space is therefore not the appearance of safety measures in public space, but the growing extent of their application. Secured space is found in central parts of many Western cities, although the means and extent of safeguarding the sites may vary. What they have in common is the dual aim of influencing people's behaviour and excluding certain groups, notably vagrants (Flusty, 1997).

Lofland (1998) distinguishes between direct and indirect instruments to make public space safer. A direct instrument is increased supervision, either by police or (private) security guards, or by the 'electronic eye' of CCTV (Figure 3.1). The number of cameras monitoring public space is vast and growing, creating what Flusty (1997) describes as *jittery space*. This is a worldwide trend, occurring in many countries ranging from the US to Japan (Wood et al., 2007). Some countries are more supervised than others. In the UK, for example, CCTV is almost ubiquitous in the larger cities (Brunt & Deben, 2001; Neyland, 2006). With one camera for every 15 inhabitants, an individual in London will appear on tape on average 300 times per day. In fact, one out of every five surveillance cameras in the world is located in the UK (Pinder, 2006). Technological refinements of these systems include facial imaging software, allowing pedestrians' faces to be matched with mug shots of known criminals. According to Davis, the increased application of CCTV transforms public space into a virtual landscape or *scanscape* (Davis, 1998). The main assumption behind surveillance in public space is the idea that people behave more appropriately when they know they are being watched, which is derived from the 18th century philosopher



Figure 3.1 Sign of CCTV in Barcelona, ironically placed on Plaza George Orwell, named after the author of *Nineteen eighty-four*, which introduced the famous adage Big Brother is watching you (Orwell, 1949)

Jeremy Bentham. He introduced the term *panopticum* in order to describe a model for the ideal prison, school, or any other place where groups of people ought to be controlled. The model presumes that to be able to control people, they should not be put in dungeons, but in places where they are visible.

Whether CCTV actually makes public space safer is something researchers do not agree on. There is evidence that surveillance merely displaces crime: the areas under surveillance become safer, but the areas not covered by cameras become more dangerous (Koskela, 2000). Groups that feel uncomfortable being supervised choose to go to places that are outside the scope of any camera. Because the number of such CCTV-invisible 'blind spots' is limited, violence is sometimes necessary to defend their spot against other 'outcasts' (Toon, 2000). In Birmingham, both the percentage of those feeling safe and those feeling unsafe increased after CCTV was installed (Brown, 1995). This outcome may be attributed to the presence of CCTV itself, marking places as dangerous and thereby sensitising people to the possibility of danger (Atkinson, 2003). Whyte (1988: 4) discovered that panoptical methods do not always lead to improved behaviour: "... certain kinds of street people get violent if they think they are being spied upon ...". Although the effect of CCTV is thus questioned, academics all agree upon the growing importance of surveillance. This not only becomes clear from the large number of articles addressing the issue, but also the foundation of a new peer-reviewed online scientific journal called *Surveillance & Society* that appears four times a year since 2002.

CCTV is not as widespread in the Netherlands as it is in some other European countries such as the UK and Finland. By 2003, only 20 per cent of all Dutch municipalities had installed CCTV. It is mostly found in the larger cities: more than 90 per cent of the places

with over 150,000 inhabitants have implemented CCTV, compared to only 14 per cent of the places with less than 50,000 (Homburg & Dekkers, 2003). But CCTV is on the rise: most of the municipalities with CCTV are planning to install more cameras, and six per cent of the municipalities without CCTV would like to implement it in the future (Homburg & Dekkers, 2003). The local governments decide themselves whether they implement CCTV and are also solely responsible for the costs. According to Flight and Hulshof (2006), many Dutch local authorities implement camera surveillance without knowing the results. The tendency is still to invest more in hardware (the actual cameras) than the software (the people watching the images). Cameras in Dutch public space are becoming more advanced. In 2006, the city of Groningen was the first city in the world to implement 'listening' cameras. Eleven cameras with microphones were placed in the city centre, which are capable to distinguish between aggressive voices and innocent sounds such as barking dogs. The system is now being tested elsewhere in the Netherlands. CCTV is thus becoming a more acceptable means to make Dutch public spaces safer. But surveillance by the 'non-electronic eye' of the police or private security guards remains important. Between 1995 and 2005, the number of firms active in the security sector increased by 211 per cent (Van Melik & Van Weesep, 2006).

In addition to direct measures such as CCTV and surveillance by police or security guards, several indirect measures are in use, which are grounded in the architectural and urban design. Skogan (1990) refers to these indirect examples of safety instruments as environmental design, which prevents people from performing destructive behaviour. The idea behind these instruments originates from the defensible space theory by architect Oscar Newman. He argues that – amongst others – the position of entrances and the height of buildings determine the level of crime on the streets (Newman, 1972). Although Newman's research mainly focuses on building blocks and residential involvement, and in due course has been scrutinised by many critics, his theory concerning design and management is still often applied in urban planning.

One of the indirect instruments is the hide approach, in which a particular public space is concealed: "... entrances and routes are hidden and are known only to – and hence are only supposed to be found by – exceptional privileged people ..." (Koskela, 2000: 249). The design of public space should, according to the hide-approach, be open but not too open, or it should "... form a gateway that is neither forbidding nor overly welcoming ..." (Davis, 1992: 168). The result is *stealthy space*: space that cannot be found, is camouflaged or obscured by intervening objects or level changes (Flusty, 1997). People who do know how to find the public space are a selection of 'desirable' people who are not regarded as a threat to the security of the particular space. The hide-approach is not new, because similar selection mechanisms were already applied in the 1970s and 1980s to malls in suburban areas:

Malls screen out people. In suburban malls this is counted an asset. By keeping out the undesirables, the malls' guards provide regular customers with a more secure and pleasant environment. They are public, but not too public. A further self-screening factor is built into suburban malls. Since access is by car, people who don't have cars are less likely to go there. They may go by bus, but scheduled runs are infrequent .... (Whyte, 1988: 208)

The hide-approach also entails the removal of signs stating that a certain area is in fact public space (Lofland, 1998). The obstruction of public space by means of walls, gates or checkpoints goes even one step further. In this case, Flusty (1997) refers to *crusty space*. Another tactic is the use of denial cues, which do not hide public spaces but mask their public character by hampering

easy access (Lofland, 1998). This can be achieved by contorted or confusing paths of approach, but also by suggesting that one needs to pay to enter the particular area, for example at sidewalk cafés where people are given the impression that they need to order a drink to be able to stay. The result, called *slippery space* (Flusty, 1997) or *introversion* (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998), is illustrated by plazas in central Los Angeles:

Their exteriors give few clues to the space within. Design features are utilized to achieve an inward orientation of these spaces, which are supposedly open to the public: high enclosing walls, blank facades, isolation from the street, de-emphasis of street-level accesses, major entrances through parking structures, and the like .... (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998: 96)

Lastly, secured public space can be characterised by the installation of 'sadistic' street furniture, a term coined by Davis (1992). The purpose is to discourage certain behaviour. Spiked metal bars prevent people from sitting on ledges, benches with multiple armrests keep people from lying down, and sprinkler systems can douse 'undesirables' at random moments (Ellin, 2001; Bergenhenegouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). Such places of deliberate discomfort have been called *prickly space* (Flusty, 1997). In the most ultimate form, this tactic implies the removal of all street furniture. Brunt and Deben (2001: 17) have called this 'lady shaving' and state that this is increasingly done with the intention to create a 'pleasant emptiness' or 'grandiose perspectives'. The latent motive is to improve the controllability of the particular area by preventing loitering.

Many of the instruments described above are accompanied by strict regulation, including a zero-tolerance and target-hardening policy to tackle both petty and serious crime (Deben, 1999). The number of rules has increased, prohibiting behaviour such as smoking, sleeping, skating, etc. in public spaces. Sometimes the rules apply to a specific user group. Staeheli and Mitchell describe how young persons under 18 are only allowed to enter the Carousel Center Mall in Syracuse in company of an adult in the weekend: "Youth are apparently part of the public when consuming, but not when socialising – or at least not on Friday and Saturday evening ...". (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006: 987). The example shows that youth – an important consumption group – are sometimes already seen as undesirable users.

In the Netherlands, the indirect instruments described above are also used after redevelopment of public space. A Dutch sociologist, surveying how the centre of Amsterdam has changed over the past few decades, found that the iconic *krul* (or curl – an open-air urinal) as well as many benches and phone booths had disappeared, and that many alleys, passages, stairwells, and porches were permanently or intermittently closed to the public (Brunt, 1996). Just recently, Rotterdam introduced a new indirect instrument called the *Mosquito*, a device that emits ultrasonic noise said to be audible and irritating only to people under age 25. It is currently being tested in the metro station *Zuidplein* and is supposed to disperse loitering youths. Similar changes can be observed in other Dutch cities, because the control over people and unsafe situations in public space has become a major subject within the general debate on public space in the Netherlands. The general adage in public space policy has for a long time been 'clean-whole-secure' (*schoon-beel-veilig*). Hajer and Reijndorp (2001: 9-11) denote this as the *safety discourse*. More recently, cities have realised that they should look beyond the adage; that it is not about the cleanest square, but the most meaningful one. Since then, aesthetics and entertainment have become important elements of contemporary public space, which Hajer and Reijndorp define as the *mobility* and *design discourse*. The mobility discourse focuses on public space as transitional space or *non-space* (Augé, 1995), characterised by a lack of social or historic

embeddedness and geographically related identity such as airport plazas. The design discourse regards the quality of public space as an important aspect of urban renewal as well as a pull factor for tourists and economic activities. Both discourses emphasise aesthetics and entertainment as new elements of contemporary public space. Besides secured public space, one can therefore also acknowledge themed public space.

### 3.3 Themed public space

Many planning and urban design measures to improve the sense of public safety have resulted in 'fortress' and 'panoptic' cities, something Tiesdell and Oc (1998) regret. These critics advocate the opposite approach: creating ambience and stimulating activity to attract more people to public spaces. Underlying this 'animation' approach is an assumption that crowded places are safer. Concentrations of people will presumably make it more likely for offenders to be seen and apprehended or even prevented from committing a crime. Now that mobile phones with cameras are ubiquitous, people will be more likely to participate in surveillance. According to Montgomery (1995), a varied diet of activities and leisure in public space can stimulate the animation of city centres. This is what is meant by the development of themed public space. The term 'themed', particularly in association with 'fantasy', bears connotations of theme parks (Mitrašinović, 2006), but it should be interpreted in a broader sense. It is not completely similar to the so-called *Disneyfication* of cities (Zukin, 1998) or the 'theme park model' (Mitrašinović, 2006), which refer to the use of theme park elements in actual urban design, such as high levels of control, predictability, and cleanliness (Hannigan, 1998; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2003). Themed public space, on the other hand, indicates a broader trend towards more leisure and entertainment functions in urban public space, visualised by a growing number of top-down organised events, the emergence of 'fun shopping', and the proliferation of sidewalk cafés. These developments are designed for the purpose of encouraging consumption-oriented capital accumulation by attracting people with discretionary income to the city centre (Graham & Marvin, 2001; Silk, 2007).

Public spaces increasingly serve as venues for the arts and culture, typically for performances, festivals, concerts, parades, and outdoor film shows (Van der Wouden, 1999a; Stevens, 2007). This is actually an age-old practice, which already occurred in the Middle Ages:

For lack of theatres, mystery plays were performed on the church steps and watched from the plaza; ribald entertainment was staged on a scaffold. Admission was free to bullfights and football games, for they were held in the square .... (Webb, 1990: 65)

In the course of the 20th century, this entertainment function of public space further increased to such an extent that French situationist Guy Debord (1967) has coined the term *société du spectacle*. Debord was convinced that the rising trend of consumption and events had a destructive effect on society, as life became more and more ruled by appearances and spectacle. This would turn citizens into aimless consumers without identities who are only trying to survive rather than live. To stop the process, Debord set up a short-lived, but influential critical movement called the *situationist internationale* in the 1960s. Earlier, a new commercial culture, centred on leisure, pleasure, and entertainment, had already appeared in North American cities, leading to so-called pleasure places (Cross & Walton, 2005). Hannigan (1998) describes in 'Fantasy City'

how entertainment has gone through a rise and decline and rise again in the 20th century. This trend was the result of an increase in leisure time, rising incomes, advances in technology, and the emergence of new sources of capital. It transformed cities from 'landscapes of production' to 'landscapes of consumption' (Zukin, 1998). Events in public spaces are thus no new development. However, what appears to be new is that the events are organised from the top down and are therefore more regulated. Itinerant musicians, for example, are not welcome at certain public spaces, and are sometimes replaced by clowns or other entertainers, who are paid by the local government or a management company. Another novelty is the magnitude of events (both in size and number) and the adaptation of public space to accommodate this large-scale entertainment function.

Dutch public spaces are also increasingly being turned into stages (Burgers, 1992; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Metz, 2002; RBP, 2004). The transformation of Dutch city centres from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption occurred in two steps. First, in the 1950s and 1960s they changed from trading and industrial sites to domains of the business and service sector. Meanwhile most offices have left the city centres for places with lower rents, more room to accommodate larger buildings and parking space, and better accessibility at the fringes of the city. Since the 1990s, the city centre has now become the backdrop for the hotel and catering industry, a stage for culture and entertainment (Burgers, 1992; Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1999). This second transformation is less concise than the first shift from industry to the service sector, because it involves a transformation of the service sector itself. Nevertheless, it has great effects on public spaces, which are increasingly used as locations of events, such as festivals. Between 1986 and 1997, the number of events in public space rose by 800 per cent, the number of visitors by 900 per cent (Metz, 2002). Several cities have added (or are planning to add) enabling facilities when refurbishing public spaces. These include electricity hook-ups (e.g., *Schouwburgplein* in Rotterdam, Section 6.2.2), music kiosks, and even permanent concert stages (e.g., *Grote Markt* in Almere, Section 5.4).

Urban entertainment is not limited to temporary events. It is also permanently available, notably in shopping areas. Similar to events, shopping as form of entertainment is no recent development:

That shopping should be more than a chore, and should have about it something of recreation and even celebration, has been recognized since markets and bazaars first took form. The market place became in the European cities an open space coequal with those of the city hall and the cathedral; and it was, like them, a scene of animation, a point of meetings, a stage for the dramas and entertainments of civic life .... (Heckscher & Robinson, 1977: 337-338)

What is relatively new is the extent to which shopping activities dominate in public space. According to Betsky (2005), shopping has become the new ritual, something people do when they do not work or sleep. This is not a bad development, as shopping enlivens the city, enhances well used and shared public space, and underpins the physical structure of society. However, visitors also become more demanding about their shopping experience. To keep attracting them, public spaces are turned into places for fun and excitement, providing more than their traditional fare of fountains and statues. The summit of this development are malls, which in addition to shops also increasingly contain restaurants, museums, swimming pools (Mommaas, 2000; Mitrašinović, 2006), and sometimes even theme parks such as the West Edmonton Mall

in Canada or the Mall of America in Minnesota. These facilities transform shopping into *shop-ertainment* (Hannigan, 1998) and public space into 'displayed space' or 'landscapes of enticement and temptation' (Burgers, 2000). Paradoxically, while offering an element of entertainment and surprise, these spaces also provide predictability. The sociologist George Ritzer (1993) labels this the *McDonaldization* of society, characterised by four basic premises: efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. Cultural commentator Russell Nye has launched the term *riskless risk*, which means being able to be adventurous without really taking chances (Hannigan, 1998: 71).

Amusement in retail areas is not only the result of the presence of entertainment facilities, but also of the shopping activity itself. The term *fun shopping* becomes more and more common and is associated with visits to several comparable shops for pleasure and entertainment, often in the company of others. The converse, *run shopping*, refers to the efficient purchase of a particular, predetermined list of goods (Gorter et al., 2003: 222). The character of retail areas in the city centre is changing as 'fun shops' (e.g., antique shops and boutiques) start to outnumber convenience stores of a 'run' nature (e.g., groceries and newsagents) and shops for traditional household goods. Metz (2002) defines this transformation as commercial gentrification. In the Netherlands, this trend is also prevalent. Recent research on changes in Dutch city centres, for example, has revealed that: "... recreational shopping' or 'fun shopping' seems to have become popular or at least regained some popularity as inspiration for the drawing up of city centre upgrading plans at the end of the 1980s ..." (Spierings, 2006: 27).

The third aspect of themed public spaces described here is the presence of outdoor or sidewalk cafés. Carr et al. (1992: 91) identify five primary needs that people seek to satisfy in public space: comfort, relaxation, passive engagement with the environment, active engagement with the environment, and discovery. All five are met by outdoor cafés. They provide a place to eat, drink (comfort) and rest one's feet (comfort/relaxation) while watching the passing scene (passive engagement). Oosterman (1992: 162) emphasises the passive use of sidewalk cafés: "... it is not the meeting of strangers that is important, but the spectacle provided by them ..." Yet sidewalk cafés also cater for socialising (active engagement). When people take the time to sit down and observe their surroundings, they can discover the world around them from a new vantage point.

Perhaps because they satisfy these five primary needs, sidewalk cafés have become increasingly popular in the Netherlands. The first sidewalk café in the city of Utrecht was opened in the mid-1950s. Since then, their number has grown swiftly. Oosterman (1992) calculated that the total surface of terraces in Utrecht has risen by 2300 per cent since the late 1960s. Also in other Dutch cities, sidewalk cafés are booming business. Many squares are transformed into outdoor cafés, such as the *Beestenmarkt* in Delft (Figure 3.2) and the *Onze Lieve Vrouweplein* in Maastricht. Likewise, outdoor cafés have increased in number and size in many European cities (Montgomery, 1997). Copenhagen had hardly any in the 1970s, but the number of sidewalk cafés there – many of them heated and providing blankets – rose from 68 (3,000 seats) in 1986 to 126 (5,000 seats) by 1996 (Gehl & Gemzoe, 1996). Lenzholzer (2005) links this development to the rising temperatures that enable a longer enjoyment of outdoor spaces in Central and Northern Europe.

The growth of attention for events, shopping, and sidewalk cafés in public space in city centres is described in publications with expressive titles, such as the earlier-mentioned 'Fantasy City' (Hannigan, 1998) and 'Tourist City' (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). The Dutch equivalent is the



Figure 3.2 The Beestenmarkt in Delft completely covered by sidewalk cafés

'Uitstad', literally 'city of going out' (Burgers, 1992). According to Burgers (2002: 25-26), it is not possible to measure the growing attention. Nevertheless, local governments have become very sensitive for the economic impact of leisure time, and are therefore increasingly finding visitors nearly as important as the inhabitants of a city. This broad audience makes redevelopment of the city centre particularly difficult, because "... redevelopments must be familiar enough to make the visitor feel at home, but also 'unique' enough to make them more attractive than other town and city centres ..." (Tan, 2006: 13). Many local governments also struggle between the programming of events and design of redeveloped squares. Meyer et al. (2006) describe two extremes of the spectrum: the *Potzdamer Platz* in Berlin (much programming and design) and the *Plaça dels Països Catalans* in Barcelona (little programming and design). The one is not superior to the other because both squares satisfy a particular need; while the redeveloped Potzdamer Platz has brought spectacle in a previously desolate neighbourhood (Allen, 2006), the Plaça dels Països Catalans offers quietude and space in a chaotically built urban area. Local governments thus act differently upon the urban structure and characteristics of their city. The role and motives of the local government are further elaborated in Section 4.3.1.

### 3.4 Social dynamics and spatial change in public space

The previous two sections have characterised the development of secured and themed public space. Crucially, these are not separate and opposite trends, but two manifestations of the same tendency towards greater control and predictability of activities in public space. The connectivity between their associated dimensions of fear and fantasy has been demonstrated in earlier research. According to De Cauter (1998), the ecologies of fear and fantasy create artificial biotopes that efficiently supplant normal 'everyday' experiences. Tiesdell and Oc describe the linkage as a chicken-and-egg question: "... to be perceived as safe, the public realm must be animated; to be animated, the public realm must be perceived to be safe ..." (Tiesdell & Oc, 1998: 652). Graham and Marvin (2001: 220) refer to 'spaces of safety and seduction' and argue that they are being bundled together with advanced and highly capable premium networked infrastructure such as 'quasi-private' streets, malls, and skywalks. Ellin (2001) explains the connectivity in terms of a paradigm shift from binary logic to complementary ecological models. In such models, a pair of percepts is not considered oppositional; one member entails the other. By extension, it is not a question of good *or* bad, safety *or* danger, pleasure *or* pain; there is fear but also fantasy, adventure and excitement (Ellin, 2001: 879). According to Boutellier:

Vitality and safety are two sides of the same coin: a liberal culture that has elevated self-development to an art of living, must at the same time determine and maintain the edges of individual freedom. A vital society generates a large desire for safety and thus comes across a notorious paradox: in order to celebrate liberal freedom, this freedom needs to be limited.... (Boutellier, 2002: 3, translation from Dutch by the author)

In turn, sociologist Zukin has coined the expression *pacification by cappuccino* to refer to public spaces that had become virtual war zones being recaptured by the middle class at the expense of other users such as vagrants (Zukin, 1995: 28). This process combines more control with the provision of amenities. Indeed, the ground for Zukin's metaphor is the proliferation of coffee kiosks where upwardly mobile people can get their 'daily dose of latte' (Zukin, 1995).

Secured and themed public space is thus a single concept with two-dimensions, as both kinds of spatial change are manifestations of the same social dynamics or trends. Public spaces are not solely the products of planners and architects but are – as sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1990) argues – produced by and within a society. Other sociologists, from Weber to Giddens, also believe that cities, and thus urban life, can only be understood in relation to the wider societal context (Urry, 2001). A Dutch review of such societal trends classifies the relevant shifts as economic, socio-cultural, and political dynamics (Asbeek Brusse et al., 2002), as is shown in Figure 3.3. The economic changes take place at the production side as well as in consumption. These feed into the secular socio-cultural trends of individualisation and differentiation of life styles. With regard to political changes, Asbeek Brusse et al. emphasise that the redefinition of the welfare state is accompanied by a rearrangement of the roles of the public and the private sectors. These economic, socio-cultural, and political dynamics (upper part of Figure 3.3) have strong spatial effects (lower part of Figure 3.3). Public space plays an increasingly important role in lifestyles. The heightened awareness of risk and safety is often translated into a design based on selective access and control of space. Such controls emphasise the new forms of supervision and regulation necessitated by the withdrawal of government from direct management of public space. The provision of facilities and the organisation of activities that fit the fantasy dimension

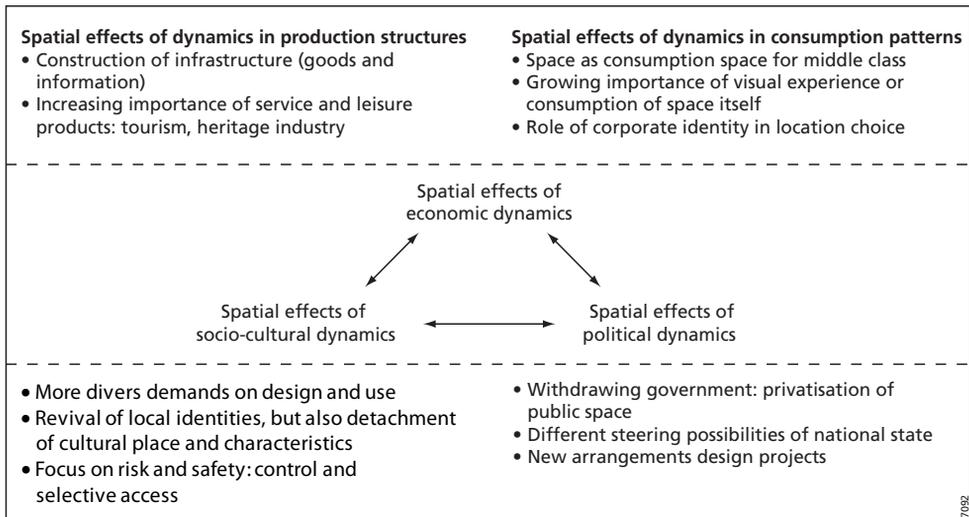
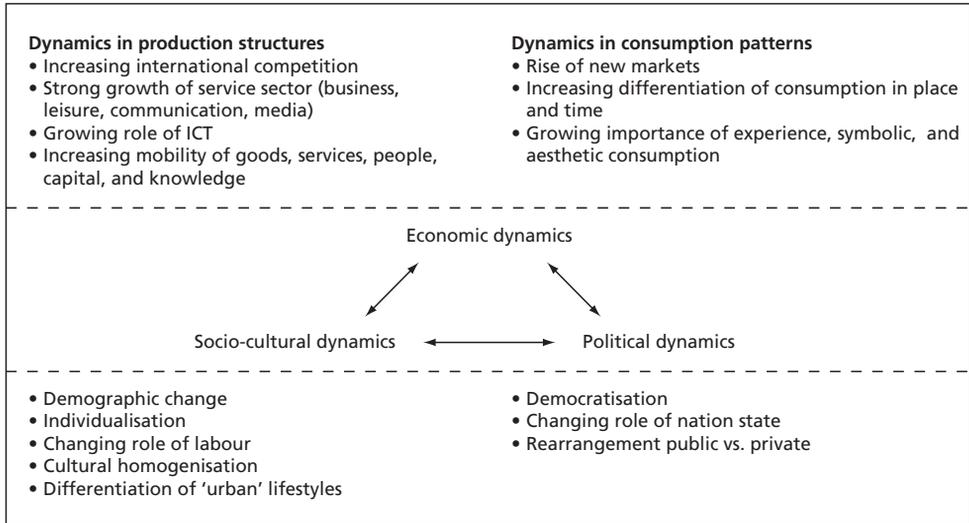


Figure 3.3 Dynamics in production structures and consumption patterns and their spatial effects. Source: after Asbeek Brusse et al. (2002, translation from Dutch by the author)

– in conjunction with the direct surveillance and hard edges of the design in the fear dimension  
 – promote the desired selectivity of the users by encouraging the patronage of some and discouraging the use by others. In the following sections, the dynamics and their spatial effects are described in more depth.

### 3.4.1 Socio-cultural dynamics

Since World War II, the amount of public space designed to meet the needs of an increasingly stratified and specialised public life has multiplied (Carr et al., 1992). Two secular trends,

individualisation and multiculturalism, have led to an increased differentiation of urban lifestyles (Florida, 2002). Carr et al. have observed some spatial implications:

... nearby public space is no longer necessary as a relief from crowded living and working environments nor as an essential setting for the social exchange that helped to hold together the old 'urban villages' with their social support systems. Instead, public spaces supporting particular types of public life become freely chosen settings for family and group enjoyment and for individual development and discovery .... (Carr et al., 1992: 8)

Thus, as people's behaviour and living conditions change, their needs with regard to public space will change too. The growing differentiation of lifestyles may spark conflicts between users of public space (Lofland, 1998; Zukin, 1995/1998). The general idea of public space is that everybody can use the space as one wishes ('freedom of action'), but with the recognition that public space is shared space. However, in a heterogeneous society the interests of people become increasingly diverse and competing (Carr et al., 1992). Lofland (1998) speaks of parochialism when the presence of one group prevents others from using public space (Section 1.2). The domination of a particular social group can take different forms, from loud, rowdy behaviour to the use of compulsion, restriction of freedom of movement, or the materialisation of power. Some researchers, for example Hajer & Reijndorp (2001: 92), state that the liveliness of a certain place is warranted by the presence of a dominant group. Walzer shares the same opinion:

Lovers of urbanity celebrate the city's chaotic mix, but it is wise to notice that many of the most celebrated examples of urban space 'belong' to quite specific groups of people. The forum and the piazza were places first of all for male citizens, universities are segregated cities of the young (...), cafés and bars are most interesting when they are taken over by particular groups of writers, actors, journalists, and so on .... (Walzer, 1986: 474)

Although the domination of a particular group of users might enliven a public space, it can thus also hamper the use by others. Individuals increasingly claim particular spaces as their own, where they go to meet the people they want to meet and avoid those they do not want to see. According to Hajer & Reijndorp (2001: 56), this turns public space into an 'archipelago of spatial enclaves'.

Fear – of the unknown, of each other, and of victimisation – is an underlying motivation (Ellin, 2001). Tiesdell and Oc (1998) emphasise that people are frightened not only by criminal acts but also by street 'barbarism' or incivilities such as aggressive begging. Similarly, Cybriwsky (1999) states that the increased fear of crime is the result of a rise in the perception of crime rather than in actual crime rates. According to Boomkens (2002: 14) this is the result of our collective cultural imagination, which is influenced by the media. Glassner (1999) supports this point of view by proclaiming that American TV and news magazines monger a new 'scare' every week to garner ratings and newsstand sales (Glassner, 1999). The rising tide of fear has led people to stay at home or to go to controlled areas, like the shopping mall, theme park or sports arena:

We no longer go out to mingle with the anonymous urban crowd in the hope of some new unexpected experience or encounter, a characteristic feature of earlier urban life. Unexpected experiences and encounters are precisely what we do not want. We go out for specific purposes, with specific destinations in mind and with a knowledge of where we will park and whom we will encounter .... (Ellin, 2001: 875)

Mitchell (2005) summarises this trend as the 'SUV (sports utility vehicle) model of citizenship':

... we do not want to collide with one another; we want to move freely through public space, encased in an impregnable bubble of property, and watched over by a network of

surveillance cameras, their operators, and the state. We want – and expect – to feel safe at all times. American courts, in other words, are pushing towards a model of citizenship that matches the cars we drive (...) Cocooned in a sealed chamber, behind tinted glass, with the temperature fully controlled, and the GPS system tracking, and sometimes dictating, our every turn, our every stop and start, we are radically isolated from each other, able to communicate only through the false connectedness of the cell phone. We ride high and sovereign; we are the masters of space; we are safe against all who might intrude (and against the weather, too) ... (Mitchell, 2005: 96)

Brunt (1996: 121) states that while criminality is mostly concentrated on a few locations, fear and feelings of insecurity are much more unbridled and spread-out. This also seems to be the case in the Netherlands, where crime rates have not recently increased. Since the beginning of the 1990s, rates have remained at a stable, albeit high level after a strong rise from the 1960s onwards. Nevertheless, as noted above, Dutch public spaces are increasingly monitored. The current problem is thus not insecurity, but the fear of danger. Speller et al. (2006: 38) also acknowledge that crime rates have not increased, in contrast to feelings of insecurity, which they define as the safety paradox. They explain the paradox by distinguishing between safety perceptions on the micro (i.e., experience with daily crime, such as noise nuisance or pick pocketing) and the macro level (i.e., terrorist attacks and (natural) catastrophes). Macro level events, such as the terrorist attacks in September 2001, might have a large impact on the micro level of safety perception, without daily crime rates actually increasing.

The link between feelings of fear and the development of secured public space is rather obvious. However, as well as resulting in secured public space, feelings of fear have also triggered the development of themed public space. According to Ellin (2001: 873), a current response to fear is escapism. This term covers extreme forms of retreat from the community and flights into controlled fantasy worlds such as suburban shopping malls, theme parks, and other mega structures devoted to leisure and recreational activities. The differentiation of urban lifestyles has also increased the demand for entertainment in urban public space in another way. People show greater dissimilarity in their consumption patterns and in the way they spend their leisure time, in line with the prevailing socio-cultural and economic dynamics (SCP, 2004). The increase of purchasing power and a higher average education level has resulted in an enlargement of possible leisure activities (Mommaas, 2000). Florida (2002) emphasises that the lifestyles of people have changed, leading to a more 'compressed' life in which people do more in less time. Work and leisure therefore become more intertwined: people relax more at work (i.e., sport facilities offered at work), but also mix leisure with work-related activities, such as business meetings on a sidewalk café (Burgers, 2000). People also get a more reflexive stance towards themselves and their environment (Mentzel, 1993; Asbeek Brusse et al., 2002). Their desires and demands become increasingly differentiated, which makes it difficult to design 'neutral' public space. Another trend is intensification, which derives from an increased longing for more immediate and fulfilling experiences. Pine and Gilmore (1999) ascribe the growing importance of symbolic and aesthetic consumption to the rise of the 'experience economy'. Within such an economy, people search for intense experiences, which give identity and distinguish them from the 'mainstream'. In this regard, life has become a 'do-it-yourself' package:

In this new world, it is no longer the organizations we work for, churches, neighborhoods or even family ties that define us. Instead, we do this ourselves (...) Other aspects of our lives – what we consume, new forms of leisure and recreation, efforts at community-

building – then organize themselves around this process of identity creation .... (Florida, 2002: 7-8)

Journalist Jongstra (2002) retains a more indolent view of consumers, when stating that people do not longer want to put any effort to make fun. They want to be entertained instead of entertaining themselves: “Hence the rise of theme parks, wall-scaling halls, and city-safaris. Astronomical prices are no objections, provided that fun is guaranteed ...” (Jongstra, 2002, translation from Dutch by the author). The expansion of ICT has enhanced the awareness and selection of these activities. Online tourist information and announcements of up-coming events can easily be found on the Internet. As personal mobility increases, even distant events come within reach. The developments of secured and themed public space are thus partly the results of socio-cultural changes in the feelings and demands of the public.

### 3.4.2 Economic dynamics

Local governments and other parties involved in developing and managing public space respond to public preferences by redesigning public space. Their reaction stems from the social remit of local government to provide public goods, including public spaces. However, safe and entertaining public space is not only beneficial to the inhabitants’ well being. It is also a means to attract new higher-income residents, tourists, investments, and businesses to the city (Eisinger, 2000; SCP, 2004; Silk, 2007). City centres face growing competition both from the outside (other national and international cities) and from within (district shopping centres and peripheral retail centres) to attract the increasingly mobile and foot-loose higher-income residents, tourists, and businesses (Short & Kim, 1999; Asbeek Brusse et al., 2002; Groth & Corijn, 2005; De Jong & Schuilenburg, 2006; Gospodini, 2006). As DeFilipis (2004: 57) states: “... cities are increasingly competing against each other to be the destination for mobile capital – and, it should be added, to maintain the capital already located in places, which might get lured away by cash handouts and tax breaks by other localities ...”. To this end, it is not sufficient to only have a number of impressive buildings and events in the city: “The public spaces which connect these buildings and activities are also important in the decisions of the tourists. Creation of new public spaces is, therefore, part of the larger process of creating spectacles in the cities ...” (Madanipour, 2003: 225-226). To distinguish themselves, cities therefore increasingly focus on and invest in their public spaces. These developments can play an important role in city marketing by lending a positive image to the city and its lifestyle. According to Tan (2006), this particularly applies to many medium-sized European city centres, which lack a strong identity and therefore experience the ‘battle of the city centres’ even more: “Fearful of losing out to other urban centres in the region, these towns and cities are upgrading their facilities in a process of constant renewal ...” (Tan, 2006: 12-13).

Creating safe and entertaining public spaces can generate more economic activity merely by attracting people to an area. Once present, the visitors will then use other ‘non-cultural’ facilities such as bars, hotels, and public transport. In this way, public space acts as a catalyst for both activity and investment (Wansborough & Mageean, 2000). Many local governments perceive ‘leisure’ development as a way to halt the decline in the local economy that set in with deindustrialisation (Hollands & Chatterton, 2003). The development of themed public space generates a range of service job opportunities such as the organisation and catering of events. Moreover, the growth of the entertainment industry has also provided new uses for public spaces

at redeveloped derelict sites that would otherwise be removed from the city's cultural heritage or render profitless (Mommaas, 2004).

Investing in public space thus appears to be an economically lucrative option, not only for the government but for the business community as well (see Chapter 4). Punter (1990) has observed a growing awareness among property developers and investors that it can be in their own interest to invest in the quality of the public realm. Doing so would enhance both the value of the scheme and its long-term potential. The focus on safe and entertaining public spaces can thus also partly be explained by the economic ambitions of the local government and other actors involved in the development of public space.

### 3.4.3 Political dynamics

Lastly, political dynamics can induce the development of secured and themed public space. Figure 3.3 lists democratisation, the changing role of the nation state, and the rearrangement of the public versus the private as main political dynamics. Democratisation can be interpreted as the wish to involve the public in decision-making processes, both nation-wide and local. Examples are the referendums held regarding the EU constitution in 2005. While in most other EU members, the parliament had voted in favour of the EU constitution, both France and the Netherlands held referendums. The population of these countries voted 'no', which slowed down the constitution's ratification. With regard to public space, democratisation is achieved by involving local entrepreneurs and residents in the redevelopment process, as has occurred in Groningen. Since 2000, the local government is trying to formulate a new design for its central square (the *Grote Markt*), but the redevelopment plans were delayed due to referendums. During the first one in 2001, the population of Groningen voted against the plans. In a second referendum in 2005, a small majority voted in favour but the turnout was too limited to make the outcome official. Despite these relatively negative examples, referendums have become increasingly popular both from the side of the government and citizens. Citizens seem to have become more assertive and involved, while the government needs their support to legitimise its policy and – in some cases – to ask for their financial co-operation (for example by means of tax payments).

The changing role of the nation state and the rearrangement of the public and private are closely linked. The sociologist Saskia Sassen stated in this regard: "The distinctive features of the new, mostly but not exclusively private institutional order in formation are its capacity to privatize what was heretofore public and to denationalize what were once national authorities and policy agendas ..." (Sassen, 2006: 21). The Netherlands is known for its top-down spatial planning tradition, which gives the national government a central role (Priemus, 2002; Section 4.1). However, like elsewhere the Dutch nation state has shifted many of its responsibilities either to provincial or local governments, or the private sector. This started in the early 1980s with the adage 'more market, less government' and is continued today with the 2006 spatial memorandum (*Nota Ruimte*) that claims 'de-central what is possible, central what is necessary' (Lohof & Reijndorp, 2006). According to Sharon Zukin (1998: 836), the retreating role of the nation state can be regarded as one of the main reasons for the privatisation of public space: "... streets, parks and even entire districts have been derogated to control by private associations of property owners and patrons ...". She argues that the lack of available state-money is the main cause of privatisation. Private companies, such as property developers and investors, have a vested interest in developing public space (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Zukin, 1998; Banerjee, 2001; Carmona et al., 2003), and are therefore willing to be involved in the redevelopment of

public space. However, their main ideas about public space might conflict with those of the government, leading to secured and themed public space. After all, the aim of the private sector is not to create public goods, but to make a profit (Carmona et al., 2003). According to some researchers, this profit-generating potential is often obtained by commercialising and controlling space, which both restrict the free access of public space (Cybriwsky, 1999; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006). The relation between urban policy and private-sector involvement is further elaborated in Chapter 4.

### 3.5 Conclusions

As described in Chapter 2, public spaces in city centres have gone through a number of transitions over time – from market place to parking lot, from political arena to playground – and they will continue to evolve. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, two directions seem to prevail. On the one hand, the promotion of a sense of safety is paramount in the design and management of public space, expressed by CCTV, changes in physical design, and stronger regulation. On the other hand, public spaces are venues for special events, shopping, and sidewalk cafés. In this chapter, these two directions – fear and fantasy – have been introduced on the basis of a literature review. The two concepts are operationalised and visualised by means of six-dimensional diagrams in Section 5.4. The diagrams are applied to the case studies in Chapter 7 to examine the levels of fear and fantasy of the researched public spaces.

What can be learnt from the concepts of fear and fantasy in public space? It sheds light on a recent development in Dutch society: the increasing potential for conflict in public space as a result of the differentiation of urban lifestyles. Because social dynamics and spatial change are intertwined, the urban landscape in general and public space in particular is an important source of knowledge about society. The chapter also bears a more fundamental message: in today's fragmented urban society, the pursuit of pleasure is safeguarded by restrictions, which in turn are commonly compensated by the availability of a lively public domain. Or more briefly: no entertainment without safety, and vice versa. In essence, this corresponds to a time-honoured insight expressed by the political philosopher John Locke – that the cause of freedom is not served by removing the rule of law. While limiting freedom in some respects, regulation maximises freedom overall (Scruton, 1982). Compensation for the limitation can take the form of well-designed and managed public space, including intensive programming and high standards of maintenance. However, as public spaces become safer and provide more entertainment, they are also being homogenised. According to Betsky (2005), the focus on security and shopping results in a growing number of controlled, carefully demarcated areas in which 'all conditioned space is conditional'. This is caused by consumer preferences rather than citizens' rights. Fainstein (2001) relegates the current attention to matters of control and consumption to middle-class escapism. This lifestyle creates a demand for public spaces that leave no room for the reality of urban living, with all its conflicts, risks, and undesirable behaviours.

Chapter 3 has emphasised the macro-level relationship between society and public space at the expense of the decision-making processes that give rise to spatial change. Who are the main actors and what are their motives to be involved in public space? These micro-level questions are the subject of Chapter 4.

## 4 Private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of public space

*As the state's sphere of control has contracted over the past three decades, as part of a general trend of societal change, the balance of control and production of urban space has favoured private interest. Madanipour (1999: 890)*

### 4.1 Introduction

Generally, the local government is seen as the main responsible actor with regard to public space (Oc & Tiesdell, 1999; Webster, 2007). However, developers, investors, retailers, and other private stakeholders increasingly seem to have a say. This is not a new phenomenon: the private sector has long been involved in the design and management of public space, although the intensity of its participation varies by place and period. In a liberal welfare state like the United States, where the government is reluctant to directly intervene in the shaping of society and the built environment, the private sector has long been a prominent actor in the production of urban space: "From very early on in the American urban history private business and institutions played an important role in municipal affairs, and private decisions have largely determined the pattern of urban development ..." (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998: 75). Businesses and civic organizations are, for example, encouraged to create publicly accessible space on their property by means of incentive policies (Kayden, 2000). At a larger scale, they are also stimulated to take care of public spaces through business improvement associations or districts (Symes & Steel, 2003). The participation of the private sector can thus range from little involvement (i.e., the public sector redevelops public space and partly recoups the costs on the private sector) to modest (i.e., the private sector is encouraged or even obliged to actively participate by means of, for example, incentive policies or construction preconditions) and high involvement (i.e., public space becomes the responsibility of a private consortium).

Such forms of private involvement in the production of public space have been relatively rare in the Netherlands, where the social democratic welfare system and spatial planning tradition give the national government a central role (Goodin et al., 1999). However, urban development is also here increasingly approached in an entrepreneurial format, shifting the responsibility for the development and management of public space from the national to the local government and to the private sector. In part, this is due to caps on public budgets. Another reason is that corporate investors now increasingly own and control publicly accessible space. But even where the local government still retains full control over public space, the private sector is often active in the capacity of developer or investor. This is especially evident where the public space is part of a privately owned commercial complex rather than a city square or park.

In the 1970s, planner Kreukels was one of the first Dutch scholars to acknowledge that spatial planning is not an exclusive government task or competency. He observed the rise of a new planning system consisting of multiple parties beyond the government (Boelens & Spit, 2006: 26). Kreukels (1999) therefore argued in favour of an actor approach in public-space research. This would differ from other common approaches that mostly focus on the morphological condition of public space (i.e., the *physical* approach) or the preferences and needs of individuals and households (i.e., the *sociological* approach). Instead, the actor approach researches the way in which variable actors (temporarily) co-operate with one another and thus influence how urban structures come into existence, including public space. Meanwhile, other Dutch researchers followed Kreukel's focus on public and private actors. The Architecture Institute of Rotterdam recently published an edited volume on private initiatives in public space (AIR, 2007). Around the same time, the Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research also requested several researchers to discuss the participation of the private sector in urban development projects (RPB, 2007). The subject thus appears to be high on the urban research agenda.

This chapter applies an actor approach in order to provide a theoretical basis on which to answer the third research question: *What are the effects of private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of urban public spaces in the Netherlands?* Section 4.2 first outlines the development of private-sector involvement in Dutch urban redevelopment. The review shows how the pendulum of initiative and responsibility for redevelopment has swung from the private to the public sector and back again. The transition is explained by elaborating on the concept of the entrepreneurial city (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). Next, Section 4.3 introduces the roles and objectives of the main players: the local government (4.3.1), the private sector including property developers and investors (4.3.2), and other stakeholders (4.3.3). Lastly, Section 4.4 reviews the academic resources that evaluate the possible positive and negative effects of private-sector involvement on public space.

## **4.2 Dynamics of public- and private-sector initiatives**

### **4.2.1 Waves of private-sector involvement in urban development**

Private-sector involvement in the development and redevelopment of public space is not new; the influence of private parties on the design and management of public space has waxed and waned over the centuries (Punter, 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999). Until the 19th century, many open areas in Western cities were privately owned and reserved for use by the select few. But in the second half of the 19th century parks and other open areas were laid out for the general public in reaction to repeated outbreaks of contagious diseases resulting from the overcrowded living conditions of the working class. The demolition of obsolete fortifications afforded many cities a unique opportunity to provide recreational facilities. Most of these areas were kept in the public domain. This means that they were owned and maintained by local government agencies and that they were accessible to all. However, a selective return to privately owned public spaces can be observed by the end of the 20th century (Cybriwsky, 1999). Private investors have increasingly come to own and control areas for the public such as plazas and shopping streets.

The shift towards more private-sector involvement in urban development occurred in different periods. In the UK it took place early in the second half of the 20th century (see e.g., Holliday, 1973), while in the US, privatism again became the dominant cultural tradition affecting

urban policy in the 1980s after an era of active (federal) government involvement in urban policy that started from the Great Depression (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998). Private-sector involvement often coincided with a crisis in public finance, which only reinforced the trend (Zukin, 1998; Pincetl & Gearin, 2005). According to Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee there are several interrelated factors that made downtown redevelopment in the 1980s increasingly dependent on private investments: “New political ideologies, fiscal constraints on municipal governments, and the dynamics of an increasingly corporatist economy dictated the public sector’s dependence on private developers and corporations ...” (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998: 73-74). The public sector aimed to attract private investment and relieve its economic burdens by using private resources for the provision of urban amenities. However, private-sector involvement is also the result of a desire from certain parts of the population for facilities and services such as security and cleanliness. Public spaces developed and managed by the private sector, for example within gated communities and business improvement districts (BIDs), cater to this desire. They usually combine a high level of maintenance with measures to enhance feelings of security. Consequently, the number of gated communities and BIDs in countries such as the UK and US has mounted (Low, 2001; Symes & Steel, 2003).

A similar pattern can also be discerned in the Netherlands. This social-democratic country is known for its spatial planning tradition in which the national government plays a central part (Priemus, 2002). That tradition is the outcome of the ambitious welfare-state regime that has evolved since the early 1950s. Until the 20th century, private initiative and financing were quite common. Many parts of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, for instance, were developed in the 19th century at the behest of wealthy citizens. In other Dutch cities too, the urban elite has been very influential. Famous examples include Delft, where industrialist Van Marken laid out the *Agneta* park in 1885; he constructed housing and facilities for his factory-workers in a park-like setting (De Klerk, 1998). The 19th century can thus be seen as a period of private-sector dominance. The 1930s was a transition period in which the roles of government and market were balanced, but from the Second World War onwards the (national) government dominated urban development processes. But now the pendulum is swinging back: private involvement is on the rise again. Van de Wiel (1996) distinguishes five phases in the development of Dutch city centres in the second half of the 20th century, which are indicative of this shift:

1. *Reconstruction* period (1945-1960): notably in cities that were severely damaged in the war.
2. *Renewal* period (1960-1970): varying from the construction of (neighbourhood) shopping malls to the demolition and rebuilding of entire neighbourhoods.
3. *Redevelopment* period (1970-1980): pedestrianisation of many streets in the city centre.
4. *Functional change* period (1980-1990): varying from the revitalisation of urban waterfronts to the redevelopment of historic buildings.
5. *Quality impulse* period (1990-2000): characterised by an enlargement and a quality improvement of the retail core of the city and the reinforcement of the local identity.

The periods show that the government at first mostly focused on housing and city renewal in general (Vermeijden, 2001), but the attention gradually shifted to the redevelopment of streets, waterfronts, and other kinds of public space. The quality impulse of city centres requires a substantial infusion of investment because the redevelopment projects are becoming more comprehensive, complicated, and costly (Section 3.4). The involvement of the private sector is seen as a budgetary solution to the problem. Although the statistics to prove this are lacking, the consensus is that co-operation between local governments and the private sector in the

Netherlands has increased since the end of the 1980s (Kohnstamm, 1993). In contrast to the US and UK, this has not led to the creation of a large number of gated communities (Lohof & Reijndorp, 2006). Neither have BIDs come into existence, although there are many calls for pilot projects and there is an increasing interest in the subject (e.g., Ter Beek & Mosselman, 2006). Yet in terms of city centre redevelopment projects, the private sector is increasingly involved.

#### 4.2.2 Urban entrepreneurialism

The involvement of private parties in public space projects has led to what Mitchell and Staeheli have defined as *pseudo-private spaces*:

These are spaces that are formally owned by the state, by the public, but that are subject to control and regulation by private interests (...) such spaces have become necessary to the redevelopment of downtown under a system that makes *accumulation* – the increase of value – the primary reason for maintaining or improving the city, and in which sociability and spectacle are merely the means towards that primary good .... (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006: 153, original emphasis)

How can the rise of these pseudo-private spaces in the urban landscapes across North America and Western Europe be explained? Section 3.4 has briefly touched upon economic and political dynamics that have triggered the development of secured and themed public space. The dynamics described there are closely connected to a larger trend of cities becoming more ‘entrepreneurial’. As a result of deindustrialisation and suburbanisation processes many city centres experienced decline and long-term unemployment throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Logan & Molotch, 1987). These processes were often accompanied with a decline in national fiscal support (MacLeod, 2002). For many local governments, this implied a shift in urban policy, which David Harvey

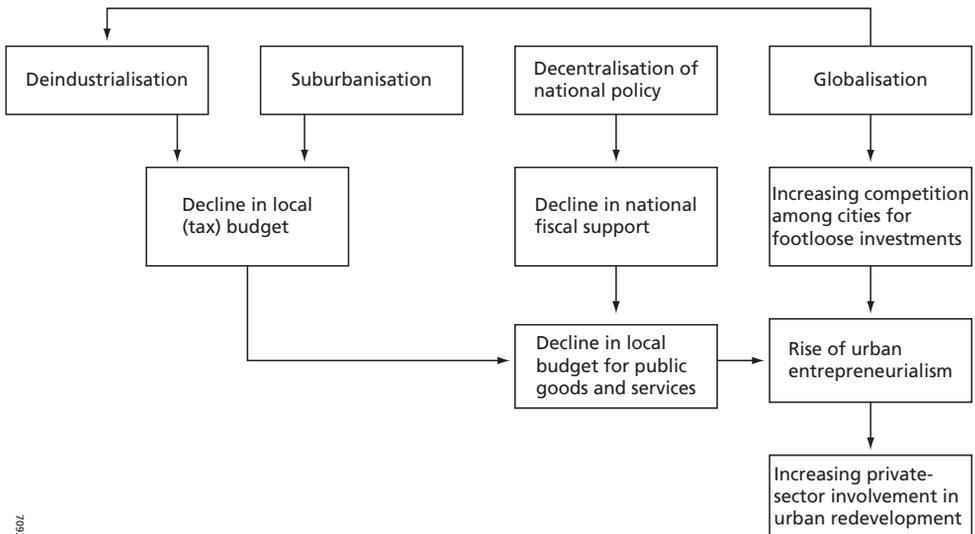


Figure 4.1 Model explaining increasing private-sector involvement in urban redevelopment through the rise of urban entrepreneurialism. Based on: Logan & Molotch (1987), Harvey (1989), and MacLeod (2002).

(1989) defines as the transformation from 'managerialism' to 'entrepreneurialism'. The Fordist managerialist mode had largely pertained to extending the provision of public services and welfare (Eisinger, 2000; DeFilippis, 2004). The post-Fordist entrepreneurial regime, on the contrary, is "... essentially concerned with reviving the competitive position of urban economies, especially through the 'liberation' of private enterprise and an associated demunicipalization and recommodification of social and economic life..." (MacLeod, 2002: 604). Thus, the local government had to transform its urban planning to include more proactive modes of private-sector involvement to enable urban (re)development. Figure 4.1 combines the above-mentioned elements in a model explaining the increase of private-sector involvement in urban redevelopment through the rise of urban entrepreneurialism.

The entrepreneurial city is characterised by two interconnected developments: the growing responsibilities of the local government (in the wake of deregulation and the decentralization of power resulting from the declining role of the nation state – Jessop, 1994) and the increased involvement of the private sector. The two developments might seem contradictory, as the general idea is that local governments are disempowered by entrepreneurial systems of urban governance (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001). However, despite the growing role of the private sector, the government still plays an important role in urban development processes. According to Needham (2006), it is a common misconception that markets exist independently of the state. The government (the 'lawmaker') creates rights and determines the rules about the way in which they may be used and traded, and thus structures the market (Section 4.4.1).

#### *Urban theories preceding the notion of the entrepreneurial city*

Neo-Marxist theories that emerged in the US in the 1970s and 1980s already emphasised the relation between the state and market (e.g., publications by Susan Fainstein and David Harvey). The general idea was that the city within a capitalist society is the result of the accumulation of investment. The private sector can generate the required investment and thus plays an important role in the realisation of the urban landscape. However, the state remains responsible for two essential elements of urban society: 1) the so-called accumulation function or 'public goods' that are required for the functioning of urban society, and 2) maintaining the public order (O'Connor, 1973). According to Neo-Marxist thought, public space – being a public good in which maintaining the public order is very important – would always continue to be the main responsibility of the state (Fainstein, 2001).

The West-European variant of the Neo-Marxist approach was the local-state theory, which was prevalent in the 1970s. The approach focused on the distribution of functions among different governmental layers. The national government concentrates on economics, while the local state compensates this economic preoccupation by offering 'consumption-related issues' (Pickvance, 1995: 269). This includes public goods and the provision of social services such as education and housing but also public space. Because of this 'division of labour' among governmental authorities, the national and local government are complementary. The local-state theory has become slightly outdated over the years. Because of the declining role of the nation state, the local government is increasingly preoccupied with urban economics:

This shift in urban governance has been characterised by the diminishing importance of the local provision of welfare and services by city governments in favour of a more outward orientated stance designed to foster local development and economic growth.

As such, the focus of much urban governmental activity is no longer the provision of services for residents, but a concern with the prosperity of the city and its ability to attract jobs and investment .... (Hubbard, 1996: 1441)

While the local-state theory focused on the relation between the national and local government, the urban regime theory emphasised the interdependence of governmental and non-governmental actors. According to founding father Clarence Stone, regime theory presumes that government institutions are subject to some degree of popular control and that the economy is guided mainly but not exclusively by privately controlled investment decisions (Stone, 1993; Stoker, 1995). The government merely coordinates the decision-making process (Dowding, 2002). The urban regime theory ascribes the spatial development of the city to local growth coalitions between influential actors from the business, governmental (public), and non-governmental (civic) society. Crucial is that each of the actors has economic, political or socio-cultural benefits from realising joint spatial projects (Boelens & Spit, 2006). This mutual interdependence is also emphasised in Castell's network theory, which assumes that knowledge and resources are distributed over different actors (Castells, 1996). Consequently, for each of the individual actors to attain their goals, the other actors must perform certain activities (Klijn & Teisman, 2000). In other words, successful urban development requires the co-operation of different parties, none of whom is capable of making autonomous decisions. Teisman (1995) defines this as the *pluricentric* perspective, in contrast to the *unicentric* top-down approach in which the government is the central actor, and the *multicentric* bottom-up approach in which the involved parties aim for their own goals and take autonomous decisions rather than co-operate.

The urban regime theory was unique because, in contrast to earlier urban theories, it emphasised the relation between the public and private sector. However, its usefulness was limited to explaining urban development processes with hindsight rather than predicting outcomes in advance (Ward 2004, in Boelens & Spit, 2006). In turn, Painter argues that the concept of the urban regime became flawed by the end of the 20th century, because "... it is based on a rational choice model of power ..." and that a reworked urban regime theory "... needs to take account of the diverse knowledges and rationalities which inform urban political practices ..." (Painter, 1998: 259). He therefore prefers the concept of the entrepreneurial city.

#### *Meaning of the entrepreneurial city*

Urban entrepreneurialism supports the idea of cities as engines of wealth creation, which can also be found in literature on urban growth machines (Logan & Molotch, 1987). This approach originates from the US, where cities – more than in Europe – are dependent on local taxes and benefit from a booming local economy and a thriving business community (Van Aalst, 1997). Following the urban growth approach, attracting businesses and visitors to the city is highly important. There has been a widespread interest among policy-makers for urban entrepreneurialism, even though it is not obvious what being an entrepreneurial city exactly implies (Jessop & Sum, 2000). According to Painter (1998: 260-261) the term has diverse meanings:

1. *The city as setting for entrepreneurial activity*: the city is seen as a container or location for investment and risk-taking activities on the part of private businesses (i.e., following the urban growth approach).
2. *Increased entrepreneurialism among urban residents*: entrepreneurial cities are those with a large proportion of residents becoming entrepreneurs.

3. *A shift from public sector to private sector activity*: entrepreneurial cities are those with an (absolutely or relatively) increasing amount of economic activity by the private sector.
4. *A shift in the values and meaning associated with urban living in favour of businesses*: entrepreneurial cities are those in which urban life is increasingly associated with entrepreneurial cultures (e.g., yuppie-style).
5. *A shift in urban politics and governance away from the management of public services and the provision of local welfare services towards the promotion of economic competitiveness and place marketing*: this implies that 1) entrepreneurial cities pursue innovative strategies intended to maintain or enhance their economic competitiveness in relation to other cities, 2) pursue these strategies in an active, entrepreneurial fashion, and 3) market themselves as being entrepreneurial (Jessop & Sum, 2000: 2289).

Within the framework of this research, the third and fifth definition seem most appropriate. These meanings emphasise changes within the public sector (i.e., it becomes more focused on economic than social objectives, no. 5) and the private sector (i.e., it becomes more involved in urban economic activities, no. 3), and also illustrate the interdependence between both sectors.

### *Strategies of urban entrepreneurialism*

The entrepreneurial strategies of local governments range from advertising campaigns and organising events to large-scale redevelopment projects. Cities that are known for their entrepreneurial policy are – amongst others – Dublin (M'Guirk & MacLaren, 2001), Glasgow (MacLeod, 2002), and Manchester (Young et al., 2006). By means of place marketing, also known as *civic boosterism*, they set aside increasing budgets for image construction and advertising as a way to emphasise the virtues of a city as favourable (business) environment. Hubbard (1996: 1443) defines this the *commodification* of the city. The city Syracuse in the US is illustrative for this trend. It is a textbook example of a North-American rustbelt town experiencing industrial decline since the 1970s (Short et al., 1993). The chemical and manufacturing industry flourished for almost hundred years, and was proudly used as main logo of the city (Figure 4.2a). When deindustrialisation set in, the local authorities had to find new ways to promote the city. Onondaga Lake, located northeast of the city centre, served as dumping ground throughout the industrial era, but was now denoted as important asset of the city. A new design depicted the lake in front of a modern skyline (Figure 4.2b). By silhouetting the lake in the logo, the graphic designer consciously portrayed the city as being clean. The positive image of water as visual and recreational amenity was used to promote a new post-industrial image of the city (Short et al., 1993). The shift exemplifies that city authorities initially simply advertised what they had to offer,

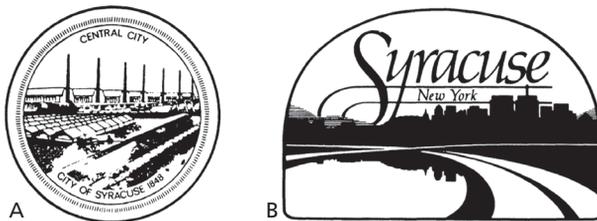


Figure 4.2 Changing image of Syracuse a) as an industrial city in 1848 and b) as a post-industrial city in 1986. Source: Short et al. (1993: 215)

while they are now increasingly engaged with place marketing: "... i.e., focusing on the needs of the buyer and adapting, reshaping and manipulating images of place to be desirable to the targeted consumer ..." (Young et al., 2006: 1691).

Other cities have shown similar advertising activities. They present themselves, for example, as 'city of fashion' (e.g., Paris and New York City, and Amsterdam and Arnhem in the Netherlands), 'city of architecture' (such as Glasgow and Rotterdam) or become European Capital of Culture (e.g., Rotterdam in 2001 and Luxembourg in 2007). The organisation of small and large-scale events in public space is an important strategy to advertise cities (Rennen, 2007; Section 3.3). An example is the Olympics. Although a number of cities have suffered losses from organising previous editions, many cities still want to host the event. According to Andranovich et al. (2001), the mega-event strategy is aimed to gain regional, national, and international publicity at low cost. Even submitting a bid package to the Olympic committee (without actually hosting it) is enough to warrant media exposure. Advertising the city and hosting events are rarely the only entrepreneurial strategy:

The attempt to construct a new city image is seldom limited to the launching of a new advertising campaign, but often goes hand in hand with the creation of a new urban landscape. The construction of new urban spaces of consumption, frequently centred on spectacular 'flagship' projects, designed to play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration, has been an almost universal response to de-industrialisation in British and US cities .... (Hubbard, 1996: 1442)

The entrepreneurial approach frequently leads to new construction activities and the redevelopment of existing buildings and public space. These projects serve to assert the unique identity of cities and make them stand out among other cities in inter-urban competition for visitors (Hubbard, 1996). They also serve to rebuild the internal confidence of residents, because they represent the revitalisation of the decayed urban economy and create feelings of uniqueness and pride. However, the redevelopment projects do not always have these intended effects. Eisinger (2000), for example, argues that building a city as an entertainment venue is a very different undertaking than building a city to accommodate residential interest. The former might evoke resistance among residents because it is mainly directed to an external audience and can cause a growing polarisation. According to MacLeod (2002: 606), "... while the political invocation of an entrepreneurial urban agenda offers many inner-city spaces a spectacular makeover, it also risks deepening socioeconomic polarities along social cleavages like class, ethnicity, gender, age, and occupation...". Some authors, such as David Harvey, believe that the redevelopment projects leave the aesthetics of place to prevail over all other considerations. He links the rise of the entrepreneurial city to post-modern styles of architecture and urban design:

We can identify an albeit subterranean but nonetheless vital connection between the rise of urban entrepreneurialism and the postmodern penchant for the design of urban fragments rather than comprehensive planning, for ephemerality and eclecticism of fashion and style rather than the search for enduring values... and for image over substance .... (Harvey, 1989: 13)

Gospodini (2006), in turn, claims that the new landscapes are characterised by a mixture of distinctive avant-garde design schemes and reference-making to the industrial and working-class urban heritage. However, the question is whose collective memory is represented, whose aesthetics really count and who benefits (Eisinger, 2000; Silk, 2007)? A number of authors have also linked the rise of the entrepreneurial city to an increased level of surveillance, performed

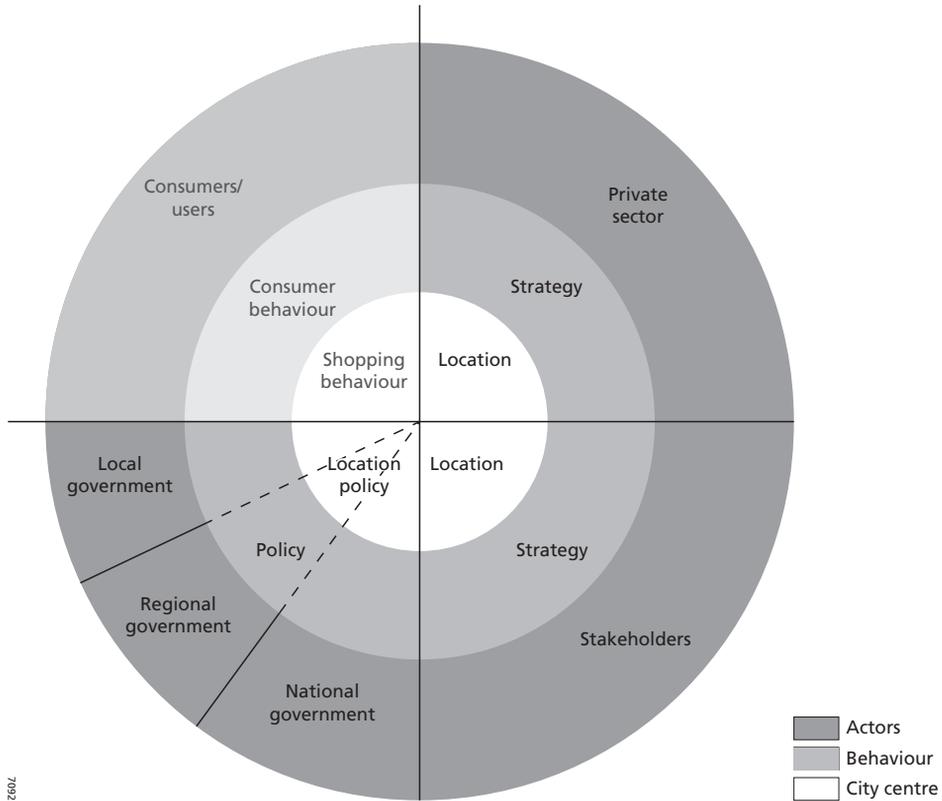
through a blend of architectural design, CCTV, and private security. Coleman et al. (2005), for example, conclude that regeneration and entrepreneurial governance are not only 'opening-up' but also 'closing-down' urban spaces as objects of surveillance and regulation. They state that an entrepreneurial policy always implies de-prioritising social welfare and basic service provision. Similarly, Young et al. claim that entrepreneurial urban governance and development are often linked to exclusion, including "... a lack of political inclusiveness and accountability, the exclusion of those with low or no incomes and the socio-cultural exclusion of those deemed not to 'fit' the dominant vision or style of urban development, a process reinforced by the increasing use of surveillance which monitor and control urban space ..." (Young et al., 2006: 1690).

To avoid resistance of the population, municipal authorities increasingly involve the residents in the decision-making process regarding the design of new projects through information evenings or referenda. This happened only limitedly in the 1990s. According to Bianchini et al. (1992), this can be explained by the relative novelty of regeneration strategies at the time, which slowed the materialisation of lines of resistance. Nowadays, citizens are more aware of the possibilities to engage in the decision-making process. The public and private sector also increasingly seem to have acknowledged the benefits of involving them (Section 3.4.3).

### **4.3 Roles and objectives of public and private actors**

Before researching the effects of private-sector involvement in Section 4.4, the objectives of different actors to be involved in the redevelopment of public space need to be established. Not only the macro trends described in Chapter 3 influence the redevelopment of public space, but also the micro behaviour of the involved players: "The actors (e.g., property developers, financiers, architects) who control the built environment are not simply puppets dancing to the tune of socioeconomic and political logics but rather relatively autonomous agents ..." (Beauregard & Haila, 1997: 328). The first step towards understanding the motives of the main players is to describe their roles and objectives. Van de Wiel (1996) distinguishes four main groups of actors involved in city centre developments: 1) the government, 2) the private sector including developers, investors, and real estate agents, 3) stakeholders such as retailers, and 4) consumers/users of the city centre (Figure 4.3). These groups are dependent on each other: a change in strategy of the one can affect the others as well as the city centre's functioning.

Van de Wiel's model specifically focuses on the retail function of the city centre, but it can also be useful when looking at the redevelopment of public space. This section uses a similar categorisation by describing the role of the local government (4.3.1) and the private sector (4.3.2), including the property developer and the private investor. They are jointly responsible for the design (local government and developer) and management (local government and investor) of public space. Section 4.3.3 focuses on the role of the stakeholders. This category includes retailers and other individual property owners but also preservation groups. These stakeholders differ from the main players (i.e., the government, developer, and investor) because they are usually less active in the redevelopment process. For the sake of simplicity, each of the players is described as a single actor, although in reality they may consist of several departments each with their own objectives, procedures, and resources (Scip, 1999). Other possible private actors such as building contractors and (landscape) architects are left out of the analysis because they are assumed to implement rather than make the decisions. However, this does not imply that their contribution



*Figure 4.3* Four main groups of actors involved in city centre retail. The consumers/users group is separated to indicate that this particular group is left out of the theoretical review and empirical analysis. Source: after Van de Wiel (1996: 17, translation from Dutch by the author).

is irrelevant (see for the importance of good design and the role of architects e.g., Hajer, 2001; Harvard, 2002; Oosterbaan Martinius, 2003). As discussed in Section 1.4, we focus on the supply side rather than the demand side of public space. Therefore, the consumers are set-aside in the present research in contrast to Van de Wiel's model.

Similar descriptions of the roles and objectives of different actors have appeared in previous research, for example by Fainstein (2001, on redevelopment projects in New York and London), MacLaran (2003, on projects in Minneapolis and Sioux Falls in the US; in Sydney, Australia; in Auckland, New Zealand; in Birmingham, UK; and in Dublin, Ireland), and Nappi-Choulet (2006, on regeneration projects in the Paris region). Significantly, most of the literature is based on case studies from English-speaking regions and not on the Netherlands. This is important, because urban planning processes and private-sector involvement are different in the Netherlands – and yet different again in other European countries with a divergent political-economy regime. Moreover, the literature draws examples mainly from redevelopment of built structures and often does not specifically deal with the open spaces in between (Ford, 2000).

#### 4.3.1 Role and objectives of local government

In most European countries, responsibility for the planning and controlling of urban development has long been vested in the municipality (Eisinger, 2000). Local authorities may also regulate the market parties who are active in this field. In the Netherlands, they play an additional role because much development takes place on publicly owned land. Public ownership may have pre-dated redevelopment; alternatively, the municipality may have acquired the property on the market or by compulsory purchase as a first step toward redevelopment. In the past, some medium-sized and large cities in the Netherlands opted to instate a leasehold system rather than sell the land. They took this course in order to prevent speculation, to make sure the community would benefit from the increase in land value, and to retain the necessary flexibility to facilitate change in the future. A leasehold system gives local authorities a dual role: that of market regulators *and* market parties. Needham (2005) elaborates on the two-sided role of government. He argues that local governments in the Netherlands – unlike many foreign ones – hardly use any indirect strategies. Dutch authorities rarely *structure* the voluntary interaction between private parties. Instead they prefer to *regulate* or *stimulate* the market, even taking the initiative themselves if the private sector does not initiate the desired action. Apparently, Dutch governments hesitate to give the market a large extent of freedom, and prefer to interfere and correct for possible market failures by means of taxes, subsidies or restraints (Needham, 2006).

The involvement of local authorities in Dutch redevelopment projects goes beyond the existence of the leasehold system. Like elsewhere in market-driven societies, it follows from the public role in the provision of basic services such as housing and health care, and facilities for maintaining the public order (Eisinger, 2000; Fainstein, 2001). As described above, public space is regarded as a basic service because urban society cannot function without suitable meeting places for its citizens. Stimulating the meeting function is thus an important motive for local governments to get involved in the redevelopment of public space. However, municipalities also have marketing motives for their interest in public space, because it can support and stimulate the adjacent commercial functions or the local economy in general. City centres have been facing stiffer competition – generated externally (from other cities) and internally (from district shopping centres) – in their attempts to attract the increasingly mobile and footloose higher-income residents, tourists, investments, and businesses to the city (Short & Kim, 1999; Groth & Corijn, 2005; Gospodini, 2006). To distinguish themselves, they increasingly focus on making their public spaces spectacular, symbolic, and user-friendlier. Generally speaking, local governments have always been mindful of the power of the image conveyed by a fine public setting: “The creation of new public spaces can be a highly visible and relatively inexpensive symbol of government concern with the people’s welfare ...” (Carr et al., 1992: 294). Redevelopment can also lead to higher tax revenues because property values can increase as a result of improved public space.

According to Oc and Tiesdell (1999), local authorities have traditionally been responsible for managing and maintaining the public spaces of city centres. However, the local state is increasingly unable to bare the sole responsibility of the provision of public goods as a result of declining powers and financial abilities (Section 4.2.2). In the Netherlands and elsewhere, this has led to the privatisation of formerly state-owned services, such as waste disposal, the railways, and postal deliveries. The perception is that it is economically better to put the production of goods and services in the hands of the market, as this would lead to maximum efficiency

(Needham, 2006). Although the care for public space has not been completely privatised, the role of the private sector has increased by broadening the sense of proprietorship and ownership.

#### 4.3.2 Role and objectives of the private sector

The property developer is often regarded as the key coordinator and catalyst for development (Healey et al., 1992; MacLaren, 2003). Developers produce buildings and public spaces as long-term investment opportunities for private investors. In this section, we focus on three types of developers: financial organizations (e.g., banks with a development branch), contractor-related developers, and independent property companies. These three types are the most prevalent in the redevelopment of public space (Appendix E; Morley, 2002). The development profession in the Netherlands gradually advanced in the 1960s and 1970s. Until then developers had also been active, but on a smaller scale. Most projects were designed for single users, and were often custom built by contractors. When projects became bigger and the need for investment increased, the contractors started to adopt the role of principal. These first developers were often linked to financial institutions. Under Dutch law, banks were not limited to their role as lender but could merge with insurance companies and invest directly in (speculative) undertakings. Gradually, developers acquired the necessary know-how of project development. In addition to the changing profile of the users, the quality, aesthetics, and design of projects became just as important as their functionality. This led to the rise of independent property developers who were not connected to any particular contractor or financial institution. Today, developers are often held responsible for the comprehensive development of entire areas. They are also increasingly able to acquire potential (re)development land at a very early stage (Segeren, 2007). To avoid that developers will become too influential, a new law (*Grondexploitatiewet*) has recently been accepted in the Senate (*Eerste Kamer*). The law enables the local government to enforce developers to financially contribute to the construction costs. It will become effective in 2008 (Schreuder, 2007a).

Property developers focus on the production of buildings. Why, then, are they interested in the redevelopment of public space? Punter (1990) has observed a growing awareness among developers that it is in their own interest to invest in the quality of the public realm. They are motivated by the opportunity to appropriate the development value of the sites, which is a function of the gap between the value of the land in its existing use and its potential value in an improved use, less the costs of acquiring the land and making the improvement (Carmona et al., 2003). Doing so, they enhance the value of the scheme and its long-term potential (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Priemus, 2005; Blank, 2007). The idea is that public space of good quality facilitates the sale or lease of the developed property, since people rather live, work, or shop on a good street or nice square than on an unattractive street or square. The developer of Battery Park City in New York, for example, acknowledges that public spaces are essentially tools to increase the land's market value: "I look at it as leveraged money. You're spending money to make money ..." (Serpico, in Kohn, 2004: 149). Ibelings (2004) adds that developers have gained insight in the socio-cultural meaning of their work, and that the difference in motivation and goals between public and private parties had decreased. Lohof and Reijndorp (2006) also acknowledge that public and private parties seem to have a common goal to improve public space and attract a desired public to the city centre. There is also a cooperative interest among these parties, as they are depended on each other to achieve their own goals (Section 4.2.2). According to Ibelings (2004), developers are also better able to express their ambition to create beautiful

buildings and to emphasise that they are not only interested in high returns. Nevertheless, profits remain the primary motivation for property developers. As Nappi-Choulet explains:

As the process is typically very long-term and involves large amounts of money, the risks are usually large. Developers and investors thus need an appropriate return rate to compensate for the risks and the immobilisation of their capital. They will put money into the project because they believe the property will ultimately yield substantial cash flows and capital appreciation .... (Nappi-Choulet, 2006: 1513)

In the Netherlands, the greater involvement of developers in public space redevelopment projects can also be ascribed to the relatively small size of the country (only 41,526 km<sup>2</sup> compared to, for example, Germany (356,970 km<sup>2</sup>) and France (543,965 km<sup>2</sup>)) and its national policy to resist peripheral retail development. Since 1973, there are policy guidelines to restrict large-scale retail developments on the edge of cities. These guidelines were implemented to protect the traditional retail hierarchy in which the city centre is the dominant shopping location. This way the government tried to avoid the drain effect from the city centre to peripheral retailing that was visible in other countries, such as the US. Only recently, this policy has been slightly loosened in the *Nota Ruimte* report (VROM, 2004). As a result of the country's small size and retail policy, land is scarce and redevelopment of existing city centres ('replacement demand') is necessary rather than continuous development on 'greenfield sites' at the periphery of cities ('construction demand'). Although redevelopment projects in city centres are generally more difficult than urban expansion due to the large number of actors and institutions involved (Korthals Altes et al., 2003), property developers are eager to participate. They anticipate that the scarcity of land and the prominence of city centres as retail structures will yield high returns.

While developers create property, investors acquire it upon completion. They manage the buildings and surrounding public spaces themselves or employ a management company to do the job. In the Netherlands, like elsewhere, banks have traditionally been the main source of finance for the property companies by providing long-term loans. Some of the banks – for example ING – have both a development and an investment branch; they could initiate and finance a project on their own. However, such in-house projects are rare because they could undermine the professional reputation of the bank.

Apart from banks, there are other types of investors: pension funds, life insurance companies, and large stock-market-listed property companies (Appendix E). Each of these types has its own objectives, sources of funding, tax regime status, and behaviour in the property market (Guy & Henneberry, 2002). Pioneer investors in urban regeneration favour speculative building associated with high returns of a very short period. In contrast, investors who do not participate in urban regeneration generally invest in pre-let assets over a longer time-period basis, while expecting lower returns (Nappi-Choulet, 2006). What they have in common is their aim to guarantee capital growth of the stakes of the insured, pensioners, or shareholders. Due to its stable value, real estate is often selected as an asset to purchase; it can generate a regular, reliable income stream (De Boo, 1996; Guy & Henneberry, 2002).

The achievement of high returns on investment has generally been considered the primary criterion of the investment-making decision in real estate literature (Nappi-Choulet, 2006: 1533). The motives for investors to invest in public space are therefore similar to those of the property developers: they also acknowledge that public space influences the market appeal or rental potential of their property. Investors are dependent on the activities of their renters or

shopkeepers. If they do well, they can pay rent and increasingly do so in the course of time. But the shopkeepers can only have a high turnover if they can attract customers. Attractive public space might appeal these customers. Public space of high quality thus eventually leads – via increased rents – to a higher return on the investor’s equity in buildings. According to Taşan-Kok (2004: 69), there is an intersecting interest of international investors and municipal governments. Investors want to diversify their portfolio structure and seek international investment opportunities, while municipal governments aim to capture investment flows. This illustrates the interdependency of the public and the private sector in urban redevelopment projects discussed in Section 4.2.2.

#### **4.3.3 Role and objectives of the stakeholders**

Besides the government, developer, and investor, there are other stakeholders that can play a significant role in the redevelopment of public space. These stakeholders differ from the main actors because they are usually less active and decisive during the redevelopment. However, when stakeholders are relatively large (such as big retail chains) or united (for example associations of local entrepreneurs or residents’ associations) they can become influential and act as actor. Organisations that serve to preserve monuments and historic buildings can also play a significant role in redevelopment processes.

Because the stakeholders’ group is not homogeneous, the motives and level of involvement in the redevelopment can range per stakeholder. For retailers, the main motive to be in favour of redevelopment of public space is the expected increase of sales as a result of the upgrading. However, retailers might also oppose the redevelopment, as they fear increased competition and a loss of income by being less accessible during the reconstruction period (Spierings, 2006). Even if they approve the redevelopment, retailers might not always be willing to be actively involved. They worry about the free-riders problem in which they contribute to the redevelopment, while others do not and still profit. Moreover, they might feel that the redevelopment of public space is a state-task and not their responsibility. In turn, residents of the city centre might favour the upgrading of their neighbourhood, but they can also fear an increase of traffic, people, and general busyness due to redevelopment. Preservation groups might oppose construction activities or demand prior archaeological research, thereby lengthening the refurbishment and making it more expensive. They can also favour redevelopment, as the upgrading might lead to more historical knowledge and a new design with reference to the local urban heritage (Section 4.2.2). Chapter 8 describes the roles and objectives of stakeholders within the redevelopment process of the cases, as well as those of the local government, developer, and investor.

#### **4.4 Private-sector influence on redeveloped public space**

The increased private-sector involvement is assumed to have an influence on the design and management of redeveloped public space. Two possible effects seem most prevalent from the academic literature. The first is that private-sector involvement leads to an increase in budgets available for the quality of the design and management of public space. Investors and developers are able to allocate more assets to this purpose than the local government. Yet one of the main tenets of private property is the right to exclude and enforce (Scruton, 1982). In exchange for investment, the private sector might want to have a strong voice, resulting in, for example, an

increase in the number of rules or cameras in the area (Cybriwsky, 1999; Kohn, 2004; Low, 2005). The second possible effect, therefore, is that the private-sector involvement leads to restricted access of public space. The two effects are elaborated below. Section 4.4.3 briefly discusses how private-sector involvement could also affect redeveloped public space in other ways.

#### 4.4.1 Budget

Private-sector involvement in urban redevelopment might make more funds available to upgrade public space. Local governments tended to give low priority to the design and management of public space, as other responsibilities took precedence such as sanitation and road maintenance (Carr et al., 1992). In many cases, the capacity to provide continuous upkeep and maintenance has always been limited and is further decreasing as a result of caps on public budgets. However, local governments currently face a growing competition to attract the increasingly mobile higher-income residents, tourists, investments, and businesses. They realise that it is not sufficient to only have a number of impressive buildings and events in the city, but that public spaces of good quality can also lend a positive image to the city and its lifestyle. To find the appropriate budget to redevelop public space, local governments need to turn to the private sector, which – in contrast to the public sector – can usually raise the required investments.

As described above, investors such as pension funds, life assurance companies, and large stock market listed property companies have become increasingly aware that it can be in their own interest to invest in the quality of public space to enhance the market appeal and long-term rental potential of their property (Blank, 2007). A clear example of this positive return on investment is the 1961 *incentive zoning* policy that was enacted in New York City. Here, developers were stimulated to create 'privately owned public spaces' (POPS) in or on their property in exchange for extra floor surface (Kayden, 2000; Smithsimon, 2008). This had positive effects for both the public and the developers: over 500 new POPS were created between 1961 and 2000, which led to an increase in the rental potential of the property. A policy instrument similar to incentive zoning does not exist in the Netherlands, but the idea that public space increases the property value has become common and has acted as incentive for the private sector to invest in public space.

The financial contribution by the private sector can range from direct and semi-direct to indirect investments. In the first option, private parties buy land from the local government and finance the development and management of both buildings and public space. Sometimes the land is sold to the private sector for a nominal sum, because it is also held responsible to invest in the outdoor space. This direct financial contribution mostly occurs in the development of new neighbourhoods at the city's edge, but can also take place in the city centre. The investment of the private sector can also be semi-direct. In this case, the local government redevelops public space, but the private parties – usually owners of property abutting the redeveloped public space – provide extra investments to boost the municipal budget. This could be voluntary as well as compulsory through special assessments. In the Netherlands, this is known as *baatbelasting* (Overwater, 2002). This implies that local entrepreneurs are forced to pay a certain contribution (depending on the function and size of their property), because they supposedly profit from the improvements in public space. The contribution is limited to the redevelopment costs; the management costs cannot be recouped (Needham, 2007). The third mode of financial contribution of the private sector refers to situations in which the local government redevelops public space with the yields raised through the sale of the land, in Dutch known as

*grondexploitatie* (Wigmans, 2002). In this case, the private sector buys part of the public space from the local government in order to develop a new building. The municipality subsequently uses this yield to finance the redevelopment of the remaining public space. Profits are thus reinvested in the project in order to increase its quality. This approach, in which the private sector contributes indirectly, is also known as *value capturing* (Priemus, 2005).

#### 4.4.2 Free access

However, companies are not in business to solve public problems such as unattractive public spaces. The only way the private sector can realise a good return on investment is by concentrating on the bottom line. As Staeheli and Mitchell (2006) have discovered in their research, the function as a public gathering-place is clearly secondary in privately owned areas like shopping malls. The primary function of these spaces is to generate income, which is often obtained by increasing the control at the expense of accessibility, also known as the *security-profitability nexus* (Cybriwsky, 1999; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006). According to Carr et al. (1992: 363), "... there is typically a perceived conflict between the developer's interest in bottom-line profitability and the publicness of public space ...". This was also the conclusion of the inventory of all POPS in New York. Although the zoning policy seemed successful with the addition of 500 new POPS, it appeared that a large number of these spaces were either of marginal quality or did not conform to the zoning requirements. Some were closed during specified opening hours; others did not provide the promised amenities or posed strict entry restrictions (Kayden, 2000; Smithsimon, 2008). Meyer et al. (2006) also warn that such private spaces will only temporarily be publicly accessible. They base their argument on the famous 1748 Nolli map of Rome, in which squares, streets, and other public space (i.e., formal space) is indicated in white, and privately owned but publicly accessible space such as churches (i.e., informal space) in grey. When comparing the map to the current situation, it appears that most formal public space is still public, while most informal space is not (Meyer et al., 2006).

The involvement of the private sector might thus create public spaces that are less widely accessible than public spaces developed and managed solely by the local government. MacLeod (2002), for example, has associated the entrepreneurial city with the so-called 'revanchist city', a term coined by Neil Smith (1996). He argues that the two go hand-in-hand: because of private investment and the focus on consumerist citizenship in the entrepreneurial city, vulnerable groups such as homeless people are being disregarded and chased away. Although the revanchist-city framework is very much derived from developments in New York (Smith, 1996; DeFilippis, 2004), MacLeod believes it is an important heuristic tool to also describe changes in the urban landscape elsewhere. Several other commentators have also drawn attention to the exclusionary effects associated with the regulation of public space. Some call it the 'end of public space' (Sorkin, 1992; Kohn, 2004); others identify a transformation of public space from open access toward heightened control over access (Carr et al., 1992; Mitchell, 1995; DeFilippis, 1997). The discussion can be placed within a wider debate on the increasing division of today's post-Fordist city and its exclusionary effects on some groups of people. Marcuse (1995) has defined this as the *quartered city*, in which enclaves of wealth and power ('the dominating city') coexist with the socially excluded ('the abandoned city') and other types of residential and economic 'cities' within the city. Others have elaborated on this notion of a divided city and have introduced terms as the *fortress city* (Davis, 1992), *splintering urbanism* (Graham & Marvin, 2001), and *archipelago of enclaves* (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). The terms indicate a widespread erosion of public sympathy

for the dispossessed, which Mitchell (2001) defines as the *postjustice city*. Others emphasise that everyday public space is still focused on (and mainly designed and managed by) the dominantly white-collar male rather than other population groups such as (immigrant) females (Bondi & Domosh, 1998; Yücesoy, 2006). What all publications have in common is that they "... offer compelling dramatizations about how the contemporary urban form appears to be manifesting as an intensely uneven patchwork of microspaces that are physically proximate but institutionally estranged ...” (MacLeod, 2002: 606). Most agree that the shift toward cities divided into areas with differing levels of accessibility and control coincides with a stronger presence of private stakeholders.

In contrast, Kirby (2008) argues that the social benefits of public space are overdrawn, while those of private space are shown to be commonly overlooked. He thus has a more positive stance towards privately-owned public spaces and states that these are "... heterogenous places that are managed rather than controlled, and that employ technologies that are soft rather than hard ...”(Kirby, 2008: 91). Webster (2007) is also less pessimistic about segmentation and dividedness in the urban landscape, and argues that it is inevitable that there are more rules and restrictions, not because the private sector is involved but simply because public space becomes scarcer as urban populations grow:

Public urban space is a collectively consumed good. It differs from private space (like bedrooms) in that many people co-consume the same quantity. Their co-consumption is non-rivalrous at levels below a congestion threshold. Over time, collectively consumed goods tend to reach and surpass the congestion threshold, however. They become over used through unrestrained competition. This is particularly so in cities, where people live at high densities.... (Webster, 2007: 82)

The over-consumption of urban space can be resolved by restricting the property rights by regulation and physical design. It then evolves from being a *public good* to a *club good* or even a *private good*. Webster (2007) illustrates the differences between these goods by describing open-air skating rinks that appear in many Western cities in wintertime. The rinks are often located at squares or in parks that are freely accessible to all. This makes them public goods, which Needham (2006: 56) defines as "... something which is produced, which is valued, but which the producer cannot easily sell, because she cannot easily or commercially exclude non-payers from consuming the good or service ...”. Public goods are non-excludable and can be used in a non-rivalrous manner by all users. However, skating rinks – albeit located in the public domain – are often enclosed with access charged for. The idea is that congestion on the ice is dangerous and can lead to injuries. By charging fees the space becomes excludable (as some cannot afford to enter), but those skating share the rink equally and in a non-rivalrous manner. It thus becomes a club good, which only a certain ‘club’ of people can use. However, when small lots near the rink are allocated to vendors (of skates, soup, warm chocolate, etc.), this does render some of the public good to private space. In general, the transformation from public to private good is not necessarily unbeneficial or exclusionary. On the contrary, Webster and Lai (2003) propagate that a municipal government monopolistically supplying open space (as would be the case if all urban space would be public goods) leads to limited incentives to innovate. Diversification of the agencies and institutions involved in the supply of open space would likely increase its quality and diversity through competition.

#### 4.4.3 Other effects on public space

Besides an increase in quality and diversity of public space through competition, private-sector involvement could also affect the redevelopment of public space in other ways. According to Beauregard and Haila (1997), the participation of (international) property developers and investors increases the probability that large development projects are actually completed. Their involvement might also positively affect the design of public space. If private parties are asked to financially contribute to the redevelopment, they also tend to incorporate public space in their plan formation, which means they are also involved in the planning and design process. By co-operating and communicating, the private and public sector are jointly responsible for the whole rather than for the separate components; that is, the private sector for the buildings and the public sector for the public space. This results in more coherence between buildings and public space, leading to a higher quality of the area (Krikke & Wienk, 2006). The main idea behind this is that an area is developed comprehensively rather than as separate components, whereby the developer would put up the buildings and leave the public spaces up to the local government.

However, private-sector involvement might also entail a more complex process due to an increase in the number of involved actors with conflicting insights and objectives, leading in turn to a longer duration of the decision-making processes and sometimes even the complete retraction of the redevelopment plan (Healey, 1998). Korthals Altes et al. (2003), for example, state that urban redevelopment is often more difficult than urban expansion, because of the large number of actors and stakeholders involved. In addition, including more parties in the process could also lead to more compromises, which might lower the quality of the end product. Allen (2006), in turn, claims that the intrusion of the market into the realm of public culture has undermined the variety and uniqueness of urban centres.

## 4.5 Conclusions

This chapter examined the role of the private sector in the redevelopment of urban public space. It appeared that private-sector involvement regarding public space has waxed and waned. For quite some time, the government played a leading role in spatial planning, even eclipsing the private sector. But now, the private sector is once again in ascendance. This general trend also applies to the redevelopment of public space in Dutch cities.

The public and the private sector are increasingly dependent on each other to achieve their goals. The interdependency can be linked to the concept of the entrepreneurial city. There is an intersecting interest of municipal governments and international investors and developers. Local authorities aim to capture investment flows to advertise and redevelop the city, while investors and developers want to diversify their portfolio structure and seek international investment opportunities. The result is the creation of public space by means of public-private co-operation that is attractive, clean, and safe, but that can also be less accessible to the general public and subject to a strict regulatory regime. Section 4.4 described the possible effects of private-sector involvement. From the literature review, we can formulate four expectations: the involvement of the private sector can lead to 1) an increase in the available *budget* for the design and management of public space, 2) a decrease in the *free access* of public space, 3) more *coherence* between public space and the surrounding buildings, and 4) a more complicated redevelopment

*process* (i.e., longer duration, more compromises). To find out to what extent these effects really occur in Dutch public space, the research now becomes empirical. Chapter 6, 7, and 8 describe the redevelopment of eight public spaces, including the role of the local government, developer, investor, and other stakeholders, and the effects of private sector involvement on redeveloped public space. Chapter 5 first outlines the selection of case studies and the applied research methodology.



## 5 Research design and methodology

*It is not that there is more than one truth. It is simply that truth is so large that no one telling can encompass it.* Special Agent Mulder in “The X-Files” (in: Mulderij, 1999: 292)

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as an intermezzo between the theoretical and the empirical parts of the thesis. Here, we translate the research questions formulated in Section 1.4 into practical instruments that can generate answers. For this purpose, multiple research methods and sources of data are used in a research design known as triangulation (Leedy, 1997). This design is particularly suited to qualitative research because – as indicated in the line from “The X-Files” quoted above – more ‘tellings’ lead to the discovery of larger parts of the ‘truth’. In academic terms, triangulation increases the construct validity or credibility of the research findings. This chapter presents the research methods and data sources employed in the present study.

The empirical grounds for the thesis are the four Dutch city centres where we carried out case-study research. Each of these case studies included two adjacent redeveloped city squares (Section 5.2.3). These are referred to as the research objects. Case-study research entails a profound, lengthy, and non-superficial examination of a social phenomenon in one or a few research units (Swansborn, 1996). It is the preferred strategy when asking the kind of questions posed earlier: *why* and *how* urban redevelopment of Dutch city squares occurs. Moreover, much of the present study is based on the perspective of various actors (Chapter 4 and the following chapters), and the case study is conducive to multi-perspective analysis. Instead of selecting one good example, we have constructed four cases. The reason is that we seek to investigate the background and process of urban redevelopment rather than to confirm or challenge an existing theory or represent a unique or extreme situation, as one would do when using a single case (Yin, 1984, in: Yücesoy, 2006).

Critics of this method point out that just one or a few cases would not provide adequate grounds for generalisation. Case-study research is said to take a microscopic view and lack in-depth statistical analysis; therefore it cannot ‘prove’ anything (Flyvbjerg, 2004). Though we are aware of these drawbacks, we do not regard them as obstacles. Rather than seeking proof, our aim is to elucidate the urban redevelopment processes that are occurring to some degree throughout the Netherlands. The cities selected for investigation are not necessarily representative but rather illustrative of the process we intend to clarify. As such, the cases are more about *relatability* than generalisation, in the sense that they should typify issues that other cities in the Netherlands can relate to (Yücesoy, 2006). We set out to establish these reference points by acquiring as much information as possible on urban redevelopment. In order to do so, we have applied multiple research methods, as indeed most case-study research does (Braster, 2000): semi-structured individual interviews, focus group meetings with an advisory team, observations, and the analysis

of secondary data. These research methods are elaborated in Section 5.3. Subsequently, Section 5.4 introduces a new analytical tool for visualising the extent to which public spaces can be categorised as secured or themed public space. First, however, we elaborate on *where* the research has been conducted. Because case-study research is based on a limited number of research units, the selection procedure is very important. We proceeded in a step-wise fashion: from setting up a new typology (5.2.1) and making an inventory of redeveloped city squares (5.2.2) to the final selection of eight redeveloped squares in four cities (5.2.3). This procedure and the outcome are elaborated below.

## 5.2 Selection of the research units

### 5.2.1 New typology of city squares

Section 2.6 has described various typologies of city squares that were derived from the literature. A typology is a valuable analytical instrument; it makes situations more comprehensible by simplifying reality (RPB, 2006; Bailey, 2007). We decided to use a typology to select the research objects for the case studies, as doing so would make the selection procedure more objective. This selection procedure, which is also known as purposive sampling, entails an examination of every cell in the grid to make a decision for (a) specific cell(s) grounded on the applied theoretical apparatus (Silverman, 2000). However, the existing typologies outlined in Table 2.2 did not seem adequate for this purpose; some are quite simplistic, while others, such as those based on form rather than function, are outdated (Rhoads, 2005). Therefore, we have set up a new typology based on actor composition (see below) and functional categories: three kinds of commercial squares, with *cultural*, *retail*, and *café* functions; and an aggregate category of *non-commercial squares*, comprising three other functions (civil, residential, and parking).

#### *Function of city squares*

The *cultural square* is a public space in which the surrounding buildings and the square itself are used as venues for cultural entertainment and events. Two subcategories can be distinguished: squares surrounded by theatres and cinemas and squares dominated by museums. In the case of the former, use peaks in the evening at showtime, while daytime activity is limited. One example is the *Schouwburgplein* in Rotterdam, which is entirely surrounded by cultural venues: a multiplex cinema, the municipal theatre, and the music and convention centre De Doelen (Section 6.2.2). The opposite applies to squares dominated by museums. These largely attract visitors during the day, while their use is limited in the evening when the museums are closed. The *Museumplein* in Amsterdam falls into this subcategory. That square was laid out at the end of the 19th century around the new national gallery, the *Rijksmuseum*, which opened in 1885. Over time, the *Stedelijk Museum*, the *Van Gogh Museum*, and the concert hall were built around its perimeter (Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). The square itself was bisected by a road and provided parking space in the 1950s. It was redesigned in 1999, when it was transformed into a lawn; a small pond serves as a skating rink in wintertime (Figure 5.1). Most activity takes place during the day when the museums are opened. The square is also regularly used for public events, from mass demonstrations to concerts. The lawn serves as an incidental picnic spot and playing field. The problem is that it turns into a huge mud puddle on rainy days. To remedy that, the local government recently decided to redevelop the square once again, starting in 2009



*Figure 5.1* Cultural square: Museumplein



*Figure 5.2* Retail square: Waterlooplein



*Figure 5.3* Café square: Leidseplein



*Figure 5.4* Civil square: Dam

(Slager, 2007). There are also hybrid cultural squares that combine the characteristics of the two subcategories. The *Canadaplein* in Alkmaar, for instance, has become the centre of culture since its redevelopment in 2000. The square is now surrounded by a theatre, the *Stedelijk Museum*, the library, and the school of music. While the theatre attracts visitors in the evening, the other three facilities are mainly open only during the day.

The *retail square* is a public space that is largely surrounded by shops and other public-service buildings such as a library, bank, and post office. It can also be used as market place. The retail square does not have to be outdoors; it can also take the form of an atrium inside a shopping mall. Because of the opening hours of the surrounding shops and services, and the fact that markets are usually daylight activities, the use of the retail square peaks during the day. Logically, shops are dominant in the retail square. However, they do not necessarily have to extend to all sides of the square. In fact, full shop coverage is rare on retail squares; one or two sides of the square tend to have a different function. Examples abound: Gouda's *Markt*, Utrecht's *Vredenburg*, and Amsterdam's *Waterlooplein* (Figure 5.2). The *Waterlooplein* came into existence in 1880 when two canals were filled in. In the 1890s, Jewish merchants started to use the square as a market place. Today, it hosts a daily flea market. The square is surrounded by diverse functions: the *Stopera*, a multifunctional public-service structure containing the municipal music theatre and City Hall, several houses of worship, and a number of apartment blocks. However, it is mainly characterised by the 300 market stalls that have a permanent location on the square. Because the vendors are open for business from 9 am to 5 pm, they only attract visitors during the day.

The *café square* is a public space that is dominated by cafés, restaurants, and their outdoor terraces. At least ten per cent of the total surface of the café square is covered by sidewalk cafés (see Table 5.4). This is a booming sector in Western Europe, especially in the summertime. However, inclement weather need not be a deterrent, as demonstrated by the provision of heaters and blankets to stimulate the use of sidewalk cafés. Unlike the cultural and retail square, the use of the café square is spread out over the day because cafés are open almost around the clock. Examples of café squares can be found in many Dutch cities: the *Korenmarkt* in Arnhem, the *Neude* in Utrecht, and the *Beestenmarkt* in Delft (Figure 3.2). An example in Amsterdam is the *Leidseplein*, which was developed near the city gates in the 17th century. Several hotels, theatres, and cinemas are currently located in its vicinity. Yet the square is most famous for its sprawling sidewalk cafés, which cover more than half its surface (Figure 5.3). Together with the *Rembrandtplein* – another café square in the centre of Amsterdam – the *Leidseplein* is an important entertainment centre for both residents and tourists.

Besides the three commercial subcategories, there are also *non-commercial squares*, which largely fall into three subcategories: civil, residential, and parking squares. The *civil square* is a public space that has a religious or political-administrative function – or a combination of both. Examples include the *Vrijthof* in Maastricht and the *Plein* in The Hague. The *Dam* in Amsterdam also falls into this subcategory (Figure 5.4/Section 2.5). The *Dam* has been transformed from a market place into a national square. It is surrounded by the Royal Palace, the *Nieuwe Kerk* (the coronation church), and the national war monument. The civil square is designed to accommodate a wide range of public functions and a diverse population of users.

The *residential square*, on the other hand, is a public space that serves as a living environment for local residents. It resembles Klaassen's (1994) recreational square, which is used as a playground and has little traffic and few facilities (Table 2.2). Many residential squares were

laid out during the expansion of Dutch cities in the 19th century and were modelled on the traditional British ‘square’. These were intended as places of tranquillity in the city (Meyer et al., 2006). An example of a residential square is the *Zaandammerplein* in Amsterdam. Surrounded by housing, this square offers neighbourhood facilities such as a playground and a basketball court. Its redevelopment gained recognition as the most child-friendly project of the year in 2005.

The last non-commercial subcategory is the *parking square*. Due to the growing number of automobiles, many squares were drawn into service for parking in the 1960s and 1970s (Section 2.5). Since then, many centrally located squares have been pedestrianised, and cars have been banned to parking garages. This also applies to Amsterdam: there are now hardly any examples of parking squares within the historic centre. However, they still exist outside the city centre: for instance, the *Stadionplein* in the neighbourhood Oud-Zuid, or the large parking lots surrounding the Amsterdam RAI Exhibition and Convention Centre to the south of the historic centre.

#### *Actors involved in city squares*

In addition to the function of public space, our new typology has another dimension: the actors involved in the redevelopment of public space. Some public spaces are redeveloped and managed by the local government, mainly when the project is relatively inexpensive (e.g., a small-scale refurbishment project) or when the government is the exclusive owner of the designated site. However, as described in Chapter 4, the private sector is increasingly involved in the production of public space through public-private partnerships (PPP). Seldom does the private sector develop public space alone, as the local government often owns the land. Therefore, two subcategories can be distinguished: squares that have been redeveloped by the local government (*public*); and squares developed in co-operation with the private sector (*PPP*). With two functions (i.e., commercial and non-commercial), comprised of four subcategories, and two subcategories of actor involvement (i.e., public and PPP), we have constructed a new typology consisting of eight types of Dutch city squares. These eight types are indicated by roman numerals in Table 5.1.

In reality, type VIII will probably hardly ever occur. As discussed in Section 4.3, the private sector is mainly interested in redeveloping public space for commercial uses. Thus, the private sector should not be expected to get involved in upgrading non-commercial squares. For this reason, and on pragmatic grounds, the empirical chapters treat non-commercial squares as an aggregate category rather than discussing the three subcategories (civil, residential, and parking squares) separately. Hence its compression into a single column in Table 5.1.

*Table 5.1* New typology of Dutch city squares

Actors	Function			
	Commercial			Non-commercial
	Cultural square	Retail square	Café square	Civil, residential, or parking square
Public	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV
PPP	Type V	Type VI	Type VII	Type VIII

### 5.2.2 Inventory of Dutch city squares

To be able to select the research objects, we needed an overview of redeveloped city squares in the Netherlands. Although a number of authors have published on Dutch squares (e.g., Khandekar, 1988; De Vries, 1990; Veenendaal, 2003; BMC, 2005), no such list had been drawn up. Therefore, we made our own inventory by asking the experts on our advisory team (Section 5.3.2). We supplemented their list by searching the Internet using the Dutch words for redesign, redevelopment, refurbishment, upgrading, and city square as keywords for the search engine. The list was then used to select research objects; the rationale behind the selection criteria is set forth below.

First, the aim was to identify at least one redeveloped square in each of the 50 largest Dutch cities; smaller Dutch municipalities were not included in the inventory. The private sector was first involved in the redevelopment of public space in the largest cities, because these locations offered the best commercial opportunities. Today, the private sector is also increasingly involved in smaller municipalities. However, many of these redevelopment projects are still underway, making it difficult to draw conclusions on the effects of private-sector involvement. Moreover, large cities display more functional differentiation in their squares. In smaller cities, a limited number of squares differ *in time* with respect to their function (i.e., single heterogeneous squares). In bigger cities, a larger number of squares differ *in space* with respect to their function (i.e., homogeneous squares that are complementary to each other). Maastricht is a good example: each one of the three central squares is relatively homogeneous. The *Vrijthof* has a consistently civil character, with a theatre, the old government building, and a cathedral, the *Markt* is consistently retail-oriented, and the *Onze Lieve Vrouweplein* is dominated by sidewalk cafés. But because of their close proximity to each other, these three squares together combine most of the possible functions that squares can have. The interconnectedness of urban squares is also recently pointed out in *Publics and the City*: “While many kinds of ‘public space’ exist, none exists in isolation – rather, these spaces develop and mutate in complex relation to each other ...” (Iveson, 2007:13).

Second, the selected city squares are located within the city centre. Urban public spaces are more complex than neighbourhood spaces in terms of functions and actors. Therefore, central squares are more appropriate to an inquiry about who is involved and how their involvement affects public space. Moreover, the entrepreneurial ‘agenda’ has focussed on downtowns. Those areas have generally suffered mostly from deindustrialisation processes (MacLeod, 2002) and have therefore been prime targets of redevelopment.

Third, the selected city squares were redesigned recently (after 1995) or will be in the near future. As indicated in Section 1.5, in-depth interviews with key actors are the main source of information in the empirical chapters. Because a person’s memory tends to become less accurate over time, it would be impossible to accurately reconstruct a redesign process that occurred long ago. In addition, most urban redevelopment projects were only carried out after 1995.

After the redeveloped squares were identified, information on them was gathered by means of document analysis (e.g., municipal websites and policy documents) and observations (e.g., with regard to the function and size of the square). The procedure yielded a list of 55 redeveloped squares (see Appendix B).

### 5.2.3 Choice of cases

The new typology and inventory of redeveloped city squares served as inputs for the selection of research objects. As set forth in Section 5.2.1, the aim was to investigate every cell within

Table 5.2 Distribution of potential research objects in the new typology of Dutch city squares

Actors	Function				Total
	Commercial			Non-commercial	
	Cultural square	Retail square	Café square	Civil, residential, or parking square	
Public	(I) 2	(II) 14	(III) 7	(IV) 7	30
PPP	(V) 3	(VI) 16	(VII) 2	(VIII) 4	25
<b>Total</b>	5	30	9	11	55

Source: own calculations, see Appendix B

this typology of Dutch city squares, in line with purposive sampling (Silverman, 2000). However, not every type is equally well represented in the inventory of city squares, as Table 5.2 reveals. Strikingly, most (30 out of 55) are retail squares. The private sector was involved in the redevelopment of more than half of all squares on the list, while it made hardly any contribution to the redevelopment of non-commercial squares (type VIII), as anticipated in Section 5.2.1. But type I (cultural/public), type V (cultural/PPP), and type VII (café/PPP) also turned out to be rare.

Because some types occur only sporadically, we decided to use a different procedure and select clusters of two nearby squares within a single city centre. As described above, city squares can complement and influence one another. Examining squares as clusters thus provides



Figure 5.5 Map of the Netherlands indicating the location of the cases and research objects

Table 5.3 Research objects in the new typology of Dutch city squares

Actors	Function			
	Commercial			Non-commercial
	Cultural square	Retail square	Café square	Civil, residential or parking square
Public	Schouwburgplein	Markt	Oude Markt	Grote Markt
PPP		Loeffplein Statenplein Van Heekplein Beurstraverse		

information on the relation between public spaces. Moreover, these clusters are part of the same spatial context and are thus subject to the same urban policy, though they may differ in the timing of their redevelopment. Given their similar setting, any differences in their design and management may be attributed to differences in function and the composition of actors rather than to differences in context or policy. We have therefore selected clusters consisting of two public spaces, each with a different function as well as a different actor composition, whereby one square had been publicly realised, the other by PPP.

Accordingly, four city centres were selected for the case studies: Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch (Figure 5.5). Within these cities, clusters of two recently redesigned squares have been examined. The *Schouwburgplein* and *Beurstraverse* are the research objects in Rotterdam, which was one of the first cities to acknowledge the importance of involving the private sector in the redevelopment of public space. The *Grote Markt* and *Statenplein* were studied in Dordrecht. And in Enschede, we investigated the *Oude Markt* and *H.J. van Heekplein* (the latter, the site of a demolished textile mill, is named after the textile industrialist Hendrik Jan van Heek (1814-1872) and is here abbreviated to Van Heekplein). In 's-Hertogenbosch the focus is on the *Markt* (including *Pensmarkt*) and *Burgemeester* (Dutch for mayor) *Loeffplein* (here shortened to Loeffplein).

When these research objects are fitted into our typology of Dutch squares, each cluster consists of one square redeveloped by the local government alone (public) and one redeveloped jointly by the local government and the private sector (PPP), and thus differ in actor composition. However, regarding function only the publicly redeveloped squares show differences. All of the PPP research objects are retail squares (Table 5.3). This is not surprising, in light of Table 5.2, which showed that the involvement of the private sector is almost entirely restricted to retail squares. Apparently, investments in retail squares yield higher profits than investments in cultural, café, or non-commercial squares. This preliminary finding is elaborated in Section 8.2.2.

### 5.3 Research methods

The main research methods used in case study research are in-depth interviews, focus group meetings, observation, and analysis of secondary data (Braster, 2000). All four methods have been applied in the empirical part of the thesis and are outlined below.

### 5.3.1 Semi-structured interviews with key actors

Researching the 'supply side' (i.e., the actors) rather than the 'demand side' (i.e., the users) is rather uncommon in public-space research (Section 1.6). A supply-side approach requires an exploration of the motives and objectives of the key actors involved in the redevelopment of public space. For this purpose, we have interviewed the main players involved in the upgrading of the research objects and documented the decision-making processes, specific public-space conditions, and general attitudes of the actors. Obtaining information by means of interviewing has become a popular method in qualitative research (Hoggart et al., 2002). It allows the researcher to ask probing questions and to check whether he or she has interpreted the answers correctly. This generates a large body of information in a short period of time.

A total of 38 in-depth interviews were carried out with representatives of the local government, developers, investors, architects, and landscape architects. The aim was to contact all of the main actors involved in the redevelopment of the research objects; there was thus no random sample. Individual shopkeepers and residents were not contacted, as they are seen as less involved stakeholders (Section 4.3). The informants were found by examining policy documents and other material related to the cases. In addition, the advisory team suggested some possible informants (see next section). The interviewed individuals were asked to suggest other names. This branching list was extended until no new names were forthcoming. The snowballing method seemed to increase people's willingness to co-operate, which explains the nearly 100 per cent response rate: contacting 39 persons led to 38 informants. In total, we interviewed 20 public-sector representatives (mainly aldermen, department heads, and project managers), nine private-sector representatives (both 'directing' developers and investors, and 'implementing' property managers), and nine architects or landscape architects (see Appendix A). While most of these interviews were individual, some were held jointly.

Some actors were involved in multiple research objects. The local government is an obvious example: when researching two redeveloped public spaces in the same city, the municipality plays a role in both processes. But we also found that the developer Multi was engaged in four out of eight projects, while ING bank and some architectural firms were also involved in multiple projects. The limited diversity of the actors is an unintended outcome of the selection procedure. Yet the overlap among the actors has an unexpected benefit: it makes the cases more comparable. Another benefit is added efficiency: a single interview could cover multiple cases, which accelerated the research process.

Besides having some advantages, the conversational character of the interviews also has some disadvantages. The informant's answers might be misinterpreted or affected by circumstances (e.g., distractions, lapses of memory) that negatively influence the reliability of the results (Baarda et al., 1996). Although it is important to be aware of these issues, they are inevitable: "... intensive interviewing will always be selective, because some information will be unseen, some forgotten and some omitted ..." (Hoggart et al., 2002: 210). To limit the bias, the interviews were recorded and transcribed to be able to reread and reinterpret the results. In addition, the interviews were carried out at a location preferred by the informants, in an effort to optimise the circumstances (e.g., no travelling time to the interview, a familiar setting, the possibility to illustrate their story with appropriate documents). The conversations were confidential: the information used in the empirical chapters is not linked to the informants' identities (Section 8.1). They also agreed on a follow-up if further clarification would be needed.

Appendix C consists of an interview guide listing the topics presented to the informants. The interviews were semi-structured, which implies that the flow of the interview determined when and how a question was asked rather than the order given in the guide (Bailey, 2007). The interviews consisted of open questions as well as some statements; the statements were merely used to trigger the discussion.

### **5.3.2 Focus group meetings and interviews with advisory team**

It is often said that academic research takes place in an ivory tower, closed to the outside world. Academic knowledge is not always applied in practice, while researchers hardly draw upon the experience of practitioners (De Gouw & Van Kempen, 2005). To avoid being insulated from practice, an advisory team consisting of actors from both the public and the private sector was set up. The team enabled a close collaboration between researchers and practitioners. The members were selected by the snowballing approach: people in the research network were asked to suggest candidates, who in turn proposed others. Appendix A lists the nine participants, including two representatives of the public sector, two developers, two investors, a real estate manager, a landscape architect, and an academic researcher. The diversity of the panel has provided insight into the variety of interests among public- and private-sector actors. Access to such a broad base of expertise has provided a great opportunity to check findings from the literature against practical experience. The advisory team has been involved in two ways: via focus group meetings and by individual interviews. Because of the snowballing method, some of the participants already knew each other, which facilitated the discussion during the focus group meetings. However, we realised that familiarity could also prevent the actors from expressing their true opinions; some of the participants were in fact competitors on the market. Therefore, all actors were also interviewed individually.

The first of four focus group meetings with the nine participants took place in March 2005, the last one in May 2007 (see Appendix A for specific dates and agendas). The research team convened the meetings in Utrecht, and these were chaired by the supervisor of the project. The meetings started with a presentation of the preliminary research findings followed by comments of the participants. There were also discussions among the members, either arising spontaneously or triggered by our questions and statements, which provided valuable information. The opinions and standpoints of the participants could then be challenged or amplified by others, an exchange that rarely occurs in individual interviews (Pratt, 2002). Moreover, the focus group meetings gave us quick access to multiple perceptions of complex issues. Because of these advantages, focus group research has become a popular research method, so much so that some detractors even speak of 'hocus pocus focus groups' (Bedford & Burgess, 2001). They stress the problem of status hierarchy among the participants. These emerge when group members differ in rank, which might dissuade lower-ranking participants from expressing their opinion. We did not encounter these difficulties, however, because our advisory team was composed of individuals of roughly equal status.

Focus group participants might not always represent the views of the group they are deemed to stand for (Bedford & Burgess, 2001). We have tried to avoid this discrepancy situation by explicitly asking the informants separately about the group they represent. The individual interviews thus provided a general overview of the roles, objectives, and resources of the range of actors involved in redevelopment projects (see Appendix D for the topic list). They took place in the spring of 2005 at a relatively early phase of the research, enabling the interpretation of the

literature, the selection of cases, and the analysis of preliminary results. The advisory team could assist in a practical manner by offering access to their network for the selection of informants. Like the case-study interviews, the meetings and interviews with the advisory team were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

### 5.3.3 Secondary data and observations

Other sources of information for the empirical research are secondary data and observations. Much of the secondary data consist of key policy documents related to the cases (e.g., dS+V et al., 1993; Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996; Gemeente Enschede, 1996; Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). But we also examined documents that clarify the redevelopment such as design plans and newspaper articles. In addition, statistical data on the case-study cities has been processed. Some information was freely accessible, such as data on Dordrecht from the Social Geographic Agency ([www.sociaalgeografischbureau.nl](http://www.sociaalgeografischbureau.nl)) and data from the city-centre monitors (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2004; Gemeente Enschede, 2006; Van Rhee et al., 2005). Other material was provided on request (Van Aalst & Ennen, 2001; BRM, 2002; both regarding Rotterdam).

Observation as a research method has been applied quite extensively in studies on public space (e.g., Low, 2000; Oosterbaan Martinius, 2003; Stevens, 2007). One of the first to systematically observe public space was the sociologist William H. Whyte. While working with the New York City Planning Commission, he conducted the *Street Life Project*, a large-scale, long-term study of pedestrian behaviour and city dynamics (Whyte, 1980, 1988). He also founded the Project for Public Space (PPS – [www.pps.org](http://www.pps.org)) in New York. PPS is currently building upon Whyte's legacy by studying the use of public space and advising cities around the world on how to improve their public spaces. Observation is particularly suited to investigate the users of public space, more so than the role and objectives of the actors supplying it. This method is therefore used sparingly in the present research. Since it is subjective, observation is only used here to document the physical characteristics of the research objects. Besides the size of the projects, observation is directed toward surveillance by cameras or security guards and amenities such as benches and sidewalk cafés. The main points of attention during the observation are described in Table 5.4. These are classified under two dimensions ascribed to public space in the literature: fear and fantasy.

## 5.4 Analysing the cases

In Chapter 7 we investigate the extent to which the dimensions of *fear* and *fantasy* can be discerned in the research objects. Are they overlapping features of Dutch public spaces, as the literature in Chapter 3 would suggest? Or are secured (*fear-reducing*) and themed (*fantasy-evoking*) public spaces clearly distinct? To elucidate the relationship, fear and fantasy are first operationalised and then visualised. To that end, we have devised an analytical tool based on scaling techniques, which allows us to compare public spaces on a number of criteria by means of simple diagrams. It is outlined below and later applied to the research objects in Chapter 7.

Fear and fantasy are broad concepts. They exist beyond public space (e.g., feelings of fear as a result of domestic violence) and beyond physical characteristics. People, for example, cannot only become afraid in dark alleys, but also by the presence of certain other users. We have focused on the former: the physical or spatial translation of fear and fantasy in public space. The two

concepts have been specified in six quantifiable and observable dimensions: three related to fear/secured public space and three to fantasy/themed public space. Each dimension is assigned an ordinal value according to three levels of intensity: low (L), medium (M), and high (H). With regard to the dimensions of surveillance and events, a low intensity actually implies an absence of recording devices and no organised events, respectively. This might be confusing, as the term 'low' indicates an occurrence (of, in this case, cameras or events), albeit on a small scale. However, when a public space rates low on CCTV, this does not automatically imply that surveillance is not important at all. The public space might be supervised in another way, for example by police patrols, which would fall under the dimension of regulation. Similarly, a low rating on events does not necessarily mean no spontaneous events occur at all, only that there are no organised events. The dimensions do not express value judgements; a low rating does not imply that a square is malfunctioning. For example, it is not a problem if a square rates low on surveillance as long as the users feel safe.

The degree to which the dimensions listed in Table 5.4 occur in public space can be assessed by observations, literature research, and analysis of policy documents. The ensuing intensities can be depicted in six-dimensional diagrams. The outer ring of the diagram indicates the extreme rating for each dimension on a scale of one to three (low, medium, and high). The fuller the coverage in the upper half of the circle (dimensions 1 to 3), the more that particular place is

*Table 5.4* Operationalisation of fear and fantasy in secured and themed public space

Dimension	Intensity	Description
<i>Secured public space</i>		
1. Surveillance	L.	No CCTV
	M.	CCTV is installed, images are recorded
	H.	CCTV is installed, images are watched live
2. Restraints on loitering	L.	Benches are present, public space cannot be fenced off
	M.	No benches available, public space cannot be fenced off
	H.	Public space can be fenced off, regardless of presence of benches
3. Regulation	L.	Regular local ordinance, enforced by local police
	M.	Regular local ordinance, enforced by local police and private security
	H.	Additional regulation, enforced by local police and private security
<i>Themed public space</i>		
4. Events	L.	No organised events
	M.	Events are organised, no permanent facilities available
	H.	Events are organised, permanent facilities available
5. Funshopping	L.	No/limited number of shops (<50 per cent of total surrounding property)
	M.	Majority of shops of 'run' nature* (>50 per cent of total surrounding property)
	H.	Majority of shops of 'fun' nature* (>50 per cent of total surrounding property)
6. Sidewalk cafés	L.	No/limited number of sidewalk cafés present (< 10 per cent of total surface)
	M.	Present, small coverage of terraces (10-50 per cent of total surface)
	H.	Present, large coverage of terraces (>50 per cent of total surface)

\* Runshops include convenience stores selling groceries or appliances. Funshops are stores with discretionary shopping goods such as clothing and jewellery (based on Gorter et al., 2003).

classified as a secured public space; the fuller the coverage in the lower half (dimensions 4 to 6), the more it can be classified as a themed public space. Figure 5.6 is an example of a six-dimensional diagram. It depicts the *Grote Markt* in Almere, which served as a test case for this method. The central square was constructed in 1983. Originally, it served as a parking lot and market place. The surrounding buildings were primarily occupied by service establishments such as banks and shops. In 1998, the municipality decided to redesign the Grote Markt and turn it into an entertainment district. The new policy included subsidies for installing sidewalk cafés, thereby favouring the development of restaurants and cafés at the expense of the service sector. However, the most important entertainment-related change was the creation of a permanent city stage (Figure 5.7). It is used for concerts, enlivens the city centre, and serves as a landmark. Figure 5.6 shows that the Grote Markt can be considered a themed public space, as the coverage is more complete in the lower part of the circle than in the upper part. This is mainly due to the permanent facilities for events (the city stage) and the increased number of cafés and restaurants. In light of this test case, similar diagrams have been constructed to illustrate the research objects (see Chapter 7).

Visualisation of research results by means of multidimensional diagrams is not new. For instance, this technique has been applied by Taşan-Kok (2004) to compare the entrepreneurial capacity of municipal governments systems in three cities. And Van der Wusten (2005) has used it to depict the competitiveness of the European Union compared to that of the United States. Our application of this analytical tool is unique in some respects. First, the profiles are derived from our own observations. Thus, the position of the dimensions in the diagram reflects the order in which they are described in Chapter 3. Furthermore, the dimensions on opposite sides of the diagram are not at opposite ends of a single continuum. Like most other methodologies, there are pros and cons to this kind of scaling technique. The main advantage is that it allows for dimensions of both fear and fantasy at a given place. Previous research has shown that these concepts often go hand in hand (Zukin, 1995; De Cauter, 1998). That is, a public space with a high rating on themed dimensions could also be rated high on secured dimensions (Section 3.4). Besides depicting multiplicity, this technique allows for quick comparison of different public spaces by visual inspection. By applying a scaling technique, the characteristics of public spaces can be illustrated in a more quantified manner than generally found in public-space research, which tends to be descriptive (Section 1.6). However, some prudence is recommended when

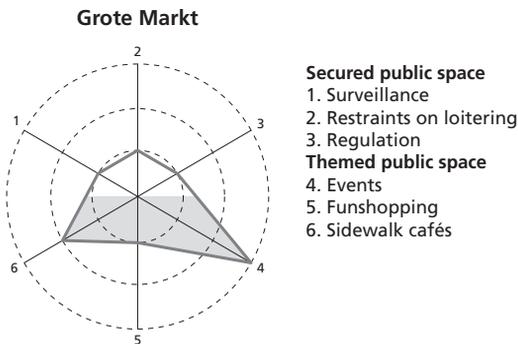


Figure 5.6 Six-dimensional profiles of the Grote Markt in Almere



Figure 5.7 Permanent stage on the Grote Markt

interpreting the diagrams. Since the dimensions are specified on an ordinal scale, a precise comparison of their values is precluded. This applies to comparison of the dimensions and across the diagrams of individual research objects.

## 5.5 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the methods and sources of information that are applied in the empirical part of the thesis. We have conducted case-study research to investigate the redevelopment of public spaces in the Netherlands. The cases are four city centres; in each one, a cluster of two squares is explored. These research objects include the *Schouwburgplein* and *Beurstraverse* in Rotterdam, the *Grote Markt* and *Statenplein* in Dordrecht, the *Oude Markt* and *Van Heekplein* in Enschede, and the *Markt* and *Loeffplein* in 's-Hertogenbosch. The procedure by which these cases were selected has been outlined in Section 5.2. Case-study research is usually based on in-depth interviews, focus group meetings, (participant) observation, and the analysis of secondary data. These methods were also used in this research (Section 5.3). Lastly, a new analytical tool has been described in Section 5.4. This tool enables the visualisation of the extent to which public spaces can be classified as secured or themed. It is applied to the eight research objects in Chapter 7.

After this *intermezzo*, the next three chapters focus on the redevelopment of the research objects in the case-study cities. The chapters evolve from a macro level (the cases) to a meso (the research objects) and micro level (the involved actors). First, the urban policy and spatial structure of the four cases are described in Chapter 6, where the eight redeveloped public spaces are also introduced. Chapter 7 elaborates on these research objects and considers to what extent they can be categorised as secured or themed public space. Finally, Chapter 8 places the actors centre stage by discussing their roles and motives and how their involvement has affected the design and management of the redeveloped public spaces.

## 6 Urban policy and spatial structure of the cases

*One of our objectives of the city centre policy is to maintain the number of visitors at the current level or even increase the number somewhat. And for that you also need a beautiful and good public space.* Interview public-sector representative (2006)

### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has outlined the selection of eight public spaces (named ‘research objects’) in four Dutch city centres (the ‘cases’), in which the empirical research has been carried out. We continue by investigating the urban policy and spatial structure of Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede, and ’s-Hertogenbosch. Policy objectives can lead to the redevelopment of public space, as indicated by an interviewed public-sector representative in the quote above. We enquired which municipal policies have been implemented in the four cities regarding public space. Differences and similarities in urban policy are summarised and explained in Section 6.6 by using the theoretical framework of the entrepreneurial city (Chapter 4). Besides policy, the spatial structure of the city is also important in researching the redevelopment of a particular public space. The presence and characteristics of other nearby public spaces can influence the research objects. If a nearby public space is upgraded, this might affect another part of the city. Similarly, if the need for sidewalk cafés is met on one square, terraces might not be present elsewhere. The city is a coherent entity and the investigation of the eight public spaces is thus impossible without knowledge on the spatial structure of the city centre as a whole. In addition to the description of the urban policy and spatial structure of the cases, the eight research objects are described in more detail in terms of their past and present design and management. As such, this chapter amplifies the theoretical basis provided in Chapter 2 and 3 with empirical findings to extend the answer on the first and second research question: when focussing on the research objects, *how have the design and management of Dutch city squares evolved through history, what are the current trends in the design and management of Dutch public space, and which dynamics have induced these trends?*

Rotterdam is the first city presented in this chapter. With the redevelopment of public spaces such as the Beurstraverse (1996) and the Schouwburgplein (1997), the city was one of the first in the Netherlands to acknowledge the importance of redeveloping public space for the identity of the city. What is more, Rotterdam was a pioneer in involving the private sector in these processes of redevelopment. Unique to the city is that the local government does not merely co-operate with the private sector but also actively participates in redevelopment projects as a private actor. The Beurstraverse (Section 6.2.3) is an example of far-reaching co-operation between the local government and private parties such as the investor ING Bank. Therefore, Rotterdam qualifies

as an entrepreneurial city. The question is whether this also applies to Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch. This is investigated by consulting the main policy documents of the case-study cities as well using information derived from the interviews with the key actors involved in the redevelopment projects (see Section 5.3.1 and Appendix A). Abbreviations and explanations regarding the organisations mentioned in the text can be found in the glossary at the end of the thesis.

## 6.2 Rotterdam

Rotterdam is the second-largest city in the Netherlands with 588,697 inhabitants (on 01-01-2006, Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007). At the outbreak of the Second World War, a bombardment and the ensuing fires destroyed the historic core of the city centre. After the war, the city was reconstructed, and Rotterdam was given a modern core unlike that of any other old city in the country. For two decades, the main urban task was the reconstruction of the city centre (Aarts, 1995; Berggren, 1997). The main policy document was the so-called *Basisplan* (*Basisplan voor de Wederopbouw van Rotterdam*), set up by urban planner Cornelis van Traa in 1946. The plan long served as the main policy document directing the urban development of the city. However, new plans have appeared in recent decades such as the 1985 *Binnenstadsplan*, which triggered the redevelopment of a number of public spaces in the city centre. Table 6.1 outlines the different policies related to public space that have been formulated since the Second World War and the resulting changes.

### 6.2.1 Policy and structure in Rotterdam

The 1946 Basisplan was mostly focused on rebuilding the centre of Rotterdam and strengthening the port function of the city. In line with the prevalent modernist thoughts of the CIAM (Section 2.5), the planners aimed to create a functional city by directing housing to the city's edge and work-related functions to the city centre. This concentration and separation of functions was possible because the local government had expropriated all the damaged parts of the city centre after the bombardment (Berggren, 1997). The reconstruction of the centre and port area was so successful that employment rates increased swiftly, attracting many workers to the city. To combat the subsequent housing shortage, the city improved its infrastructure and constructed new neighbourhoods at the city's edge in the 1950s and 1960s. Housing in the city centre was still scarce, though some was built (such as the mixed retail and housing complex Lijnbaan built in the 1950s, see below). The attention for public space was limited in the period immediately after the war, because the built environment first had to be reconstructed before the spaces in-between could be improved (Goossens et al., 1995). Again, there were some exceptions such as the development of the Schouwburgplein and the train station square (Stationsplein) in front of the Central Station.

Table 6.1 shows that the 1946 Basisplan has long been the main policy document underlying urban (re)development projects in the city. This does not imply that the plan did not evolve; the Basisplan was rather a chameleon in which new insights were inserted (Aarts, 1995). At the end of the 1970s, the port flourished as never before but the advancement of technology had led to less rather than more employment. A more mixed economy was required with culture, retail, and housing as important functions of the city centre. The government realised it needed a new policy

document to stimulate the diversification of the functions and formulated the *Structuurplan* in 1978, followed by the 1985 city centre plan (*Binnenstadsplan*). The need for other forms of employment, such as the service and tourist sector, was also stressed in the memorandum *Nieuw Rotterdam* (Gemeente Rotterdam, 1987; also known as *Nota Albeda* after the chairman of the ‘Advisory Commission Social-Economic Renewal of Rotterdam’). The memorandum outlined several future objectives for spatial and economic renewal, including the improvement of shopping and entertainment facilities. It also identified public space as important spearhead.

Table 6.1 Policies and changes in public space in the city centre of Rotterdam

Period	Year	Policies	Year	Changes in public space
1940s	1946	Reconstruction plan ( <i>Basisplan voor de Wederopbouw van Rotterdam</i> ). Focus on recovery after the 1940 bombardments and on strengthening the city's port	1947	Opening Schouwburgplein
1950s			1953	Construction Lijnbaan
			1957	Construction Central Station including train station square
1960s			1966	Construction 2nd part of Lijnbaan
			1969	1st redevelopment Schouwburgplein
1970s	1978	Structure plan ( <i>Structuurplan Rotterdam</i> ). Focus on housing in the city centre and decentralising offices and other work-related functions		
1980s	1985	City centre plan ( <i>Binnenstadsplan</i> )		
	1987	New Rotterdam ( <i>Nieuw Rotterdam</i> )		
		Both plans focused on diversifying the functions of the city centre (housing, retail, culture)		
1990s	1993	City centre Rotterdam ( <i>Binnenstad Rotterdam</i> ). Focus on five clusters in the city centre as main sites for (re) development	1991	1st redevelopment Museumpark
			1996	Development Erasmus Bridge
			1996	Development Beurstraverse
			1997	2nd redevelopment Schouwburgplein
2000s	2006	Public space investment programme ( <i>Investerings-programma Buitenruimte 2006-2020</i> ). Focus on improving the quality of public space	2000	Development skatepark Westblaak
			2009	2nd redevelopment Museumpark
			2010	Redevelopment Binnenrotte
			2010	Redevelopment train station/square
	2007	Spatial development strategy ( <i>Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030</i> ). Focus on attracting high-skilled/creative workers by offering desirable living conditions	2010	Redevelopment Kop van Zuid
	2007	Draft plan Connected City ( <i>Verbonden Stad</i> ) outlining plans to create high-standard public spaces		
	2008	City centre plan ( <i>Binnenstadsplan</i> )		
2010s			2012	Construction second Beurstraverse

Source: based on Aarts (1995: 33-47), Van Aalst (1997) and Interviews (2006). NB. Indicated years refer to the completion of the redevelopment project; the actual redevelopment process often started earlier. Changes in public space after 2007 are indicated in italics, as the proposed years of completion might be subject to change.

Earlier, the attention for programming, budgeting, and the quality of public space had been limited (Goossens et al., 1995). This is also visualised in Table 6.1 that shows no major public-space developments in the 1970s and 1980s.

The main aim of the 1985 Binnenstadsplan was to create a compact city in which people could work and live (Berggren, 1997). Another goal was to indicate clearly identifiable areas with different thematic backgrounds. The functions present in these areas needed to be strengthened. For example, the open space in the *Park triangle* (I in Figure 6.1) was already assigned as a park for museums when the government had bought the estate in 1924 and constructed the Boymans-van Beuningen museum in 1935 (Van Aalst, 1997). The 1985 Binnenstadsplan stressed the cultural-recreational function and park-like environment of this area. This has led to the clustering of

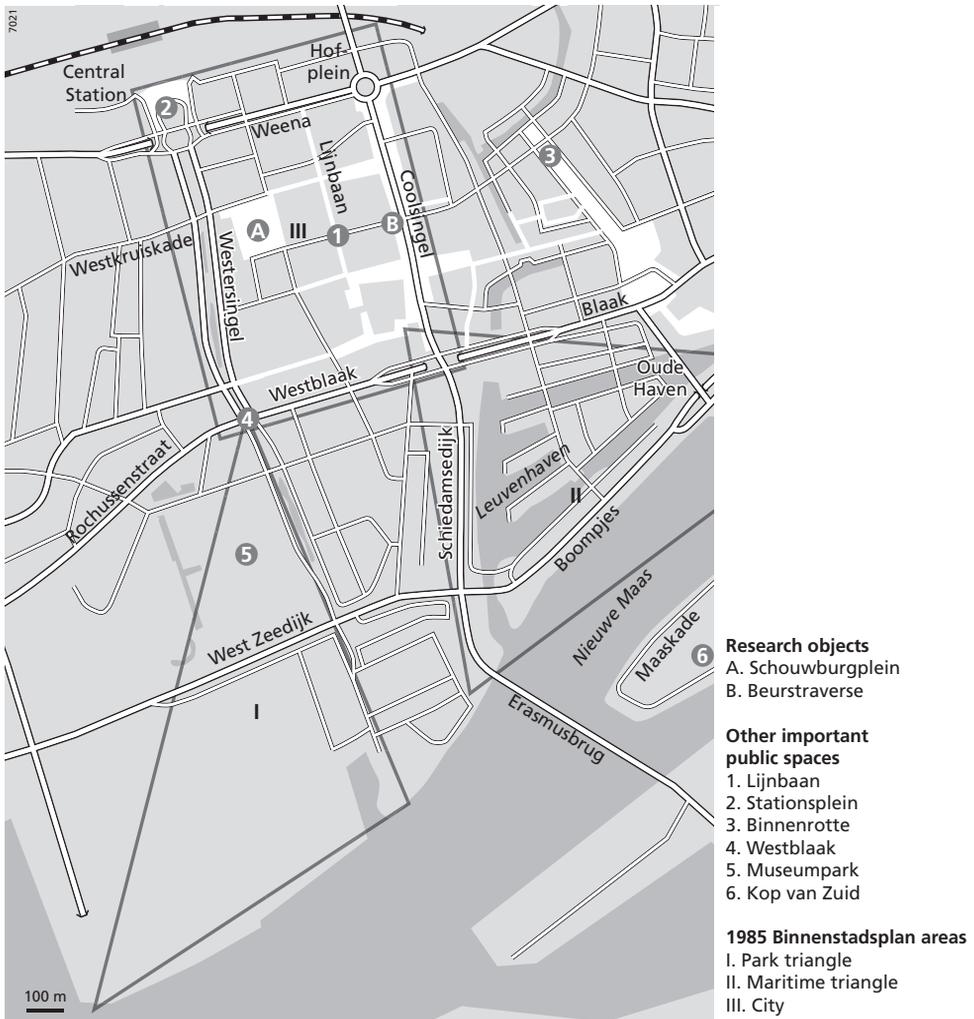


Figure 6.1 Map of the city centre of Rotterdam

six museums in the area, which were spatially united by the redesigned Museumpark in 1991. The second thematic area was the *Maritime triangle* (II). New developments within this area had to focus on maritime recreation and tourism, resulting in the relocation of the maritime museum to the Leuvehaven in 1986 and the arrival of Tropicana (a subtropical swimming pool and beauty/party centre) in 1988. The third thematic area was the *City* (III). The main focus of this area should be on offices, shopping, and entertainment. In more detail, the Weena and Coolsingel were designated as location for new high-rise buildings for offices and housing, while the Lijnbaan would become the main shopping area. Since its opening in 1953, the Lijnbaan had been revolutionary as one of the first car-free shopping streets. However, it deteriorated in the course of time. There was no unity between buildings, the shopping facades were not maintained, public space was cluttered, and the pavement was in a bad condition. The area needed a new impulse. The Schouwburgplein was identified as a culture and entertainment cluster. The square also required redevelopment to enable and strengthen these functions.

By 1993, some of the developments proposed in the 1985 Binnenstadsplan had been realised. The Museumpark was under redevelopment, Tropicana had been built, and new office and housing buildings were constructed on the Weena and Coolsingel. However, other plans were not carried out including the redevelopment of the Schouwburgplein and Lijnbaan. The Schouwburgplein was suffering from an abundance of plans and lack of decisiveness (Section 6.2.2). The redevelopment of the Lijnbaan turned out to be very complicated due to many property owners who were unwilling to co-operate. The municipality was not able to force these owners and could only partially improve the Lijnbaan by upgrading the public space. In the meantime, new development plans had been adopted for the area south of the city centre on the other side of the river Maas, in an area named Kop van Zuid. These plans needed to be tuned to the plans for the city centre, because they could be competing with regard to housing and office developments. To revive the planned projects and incorporate the new developments at the Kop van Zuid, the new plan *Binnenstad Rotterdam* was presented in 1993. It outlined four main objectives (dS+V et al., 1993: 11):

1. Identification of three main clusters in the city centre (Beursplein/Oude Haven/Schouwburgplein) and two at the Kop van Zuid (Entrepot building/Erasmus Bridge landing), in which functions needed to be combined in order to stimulate funshopping, recreation, culture, and tourism
2. Improvement of the quantity and quality of housing in the city centre
3. Improvement of the quality of the city centre and a coherent management of public space
4. Selective growth of offices in the city centre

For this research, the first and third objectives are most relevant. The plan designated the Schouwburgplein as one of the main clusters in the city. The square was redeveloped with an emphasis on cultural and entertainment functions by combining the city theatre and music and congress centre De Doelen with new facilities such as a multiplex cinema, cafés, and restaurants. It reopened in 1997. The emphasis within the Beursplein cluster was on shopping. As described above, the local government first designated the Lijnbaan as main shopping area. However, the municipality shifted its focus from the Lijnbaan to the Beursplein area as main retail location. The construction of the Beurstraverse as sunken shopping street was finished in 1996. The objective of the third cluster near the Oudehaven was to remove the elevated train tracks and create a large square named the Binnenrotte to host the weekly market, attract tourists, and improve housing and public transport by constructing a train and metro hub (Station Blaakplein).

The square was constructed in 1995 after a design by West 8 (Aarts, 1995). It is currently being redeveloped again as a result of a large covered market hall on the southwest side of the square, which is constructed by the local authorities in co-operation with developer Provast. The plan will be completed in 2010.

The third objective of the 1993 adaptation of the Basisplan focused on public space as a condition to create a city centre that expresses the ambition of Rotterdam as international centre with a good investment climate and location possibilities (dS+V et al., 1993). Public spaces in Rotterdam needed to become clean, safe, and of high quality. This required an increase in the budget for both design and maintenance of public space (dS+V, 1994; Goossens et al., 1995). Data from the so-called city centre monitor suggest that the city has been successful in achieving this objective. The average scores of the level of 'cleanliness' and 'wholeness' in the city centre were respectively 3,7 and 3,8 (on a scale of 1 to 5) in 2004 (Van Rhee et al., 2005). Nevertheless, there are still multiple locations that require investment according to the city centre inhabitants, such as the Binnenrotte (according to 34% of the monitor's respondents) and the retail areas in the city centre (34%). Surprisingly, the Schouwburgplein is also mentioned often (26%), despite the 1997 redevelopment.

The urban (re)development of Rotterdam is far from complete. Although big projects such as the Schouwburgplein and the Beurstraverse have been completed, other parts of the city are still excavated building-sites. The train station and square are currently under major reconstruction in order to facilitate a new high-speed rail and the RandstadRail. The old train station was not equipped for the expected increase of travellers and needs to be completely rebuilt. The project is expected to be finished in 2010. Another redevelopment project is the Museumpark, which is currently being reconstructed due to the construction of an underground parking garage. The redevelopment of the park is expected to be finished in 2009. As described above, the Binnenrotte is another major redevelopment site in the city centre of Rotterdam. There are also plans to develop a second retail underpass similar to the Beurstraverse, starting in 2012 (Section 6.2.3). Besides physical improvements in public space, Rotterdam also works hard on its image as event city. A number of festivals (e.g., the International Film Festival, the summer carnival, and the North Sea Jazz Festival) and other events are organised in the city; some indoor and others freely accessible in public space. As a consequence, Rotterdam has been selected as City of Events in 2005 and 2006. The city has promoted itself as City of Architecture in 2007, including a large-scale manifestation regarding the exceptional buildings and public spaces. Rotterdam appears successful in promoting itself: visitors graded the city as leisure product with a 7,1 in 2003 (Van Rhee et al., 2005).

In the future, Rotterdam aims to create a strong economy and become an attractive residential city. The two aims are connected; to live in a city job opportunities and housing facilities are necessary. The plans are outlined in the *Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030* (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007a). Thirteen projects are distinguished, including improvements in public space at the Lijnbaan, Coolsingel, and the train station area. In addition, the municipality set up an investment programme for public space outside the city centre (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2006). The aim is to invest in public spaces in the neighbourhoods to improve Rotterdam's image as residential city. But the quality of public spaces in the city centre also remains top priority. The local government recently presented its draft policy named Connected City (*Verbonden Stad*), which is part of the next city centre plan that will be presented in the spring of 2008. The draft

emphasises the need for well-connected, green public spaces of high-standard in the city centre (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007b).

### 6.2.2 Schouwburgplein

The Schouwburgplein was redesigned in 1997 after a long period of gradual decline and many discussions about the square's future (Goossens et al., 1995; Moscoviter, 1997). It is entirely enclosed by cultural venues – a multiplex cinema, the municipal theatre, music and convention centre De Doelen – and a number of shops, cafés, and restaurants (Figure 6.3). It is also regularly used for outdoor events and can thus be regarded as a typical cultural square. The square came into existence as a result of German bombardments at the beginning of the Second World War.

*Table 6.2* Timeline of developments at the Schouwburgplein

Year	Developments
1940	Bombardment of the city centre of Rotterdam
1947	Designation of the open space as 'Schouwburgplein'
1952	Schouwburgplein used as parking area
1966	Construction of an underground parking garage after 6 years of decision-making and planning
1967	Start redevelopment of the square after the completion of the parking garage
1969	Official opening of the redeveloped Schouwburgplein (after a design by city planner Fokkinga)
1977	Proposal to redevelop the square by architect Hertzberger (designer of the new theatre). His plan was to split the Schouwburgplein into two squares and to construct a small pond in front of music and convention centre De Doelen. The urban planning department refuted the plan, because it was too expensive and did not match the idea of one big square.
1979	Hertzberger developed a new plan including a face-lift for the temporary theatre and a limited renovation of the square.
1979	Designer Van Nierop developed another plan. He proposed to decrease the size of the square.
1980	The city council decided to refute Hertzberger's second plan and to adopt Van Nierop's plan after adaptations in building-lines and heights. The theatre would be renovated rather than replaced by a new one. The department of urban development disagreed with this decision.
1984	Doets (director Grondbedrijf) and financial alderman Linthorst made the final decision to demolish the old theatre instead of renovating it.
1985	Developer MABON organised a design competition to develop a winter garden at the east side of the square. The winning plan by Cepezed was not completed because the director of the urban development department did not think a total revision of the square was necessary.
1986	The new director of urban development Bakker asked Cepezed to adapt the design. The plan was to partly open the parking garage and to lower the square. It proved to be unfeasible as the garage was leased out for years and a sunken square was highly dissuaded by experts.
1987	Bakker asked architect Thompson to make a new design for the square. His design included Delft blue tiles, small windmills, and large wooden shoes. Almost all stakeholders refuted the extreme plan. In reaction, new plans arose spontaneously, but they were never taken seriously.
1988	Opening of the new theatre, after a design by architect Quist
1993	Linthorst asked for three new plans, of which the best one would be selected. The urban development department, architecture agency Bakker en Bleeker, and architect Geuze of West 8 Landscape Architects were selected to make a design.
1995	Alderman Linthorst of spatial planning appointed Geuze as designer of the redeveloped square. Architect Van Velzen was selected to design the new cinema. Construction work started.
1997	Opening of new Schouwburgplein

Source: based on Moscoviter (1997) and Interviews (2006)

The space was officially designated as square in 1947 and was called Schouwburgplein, named after the provisional theatre built on the south side of the square during and shortly after war. From then on, the discussions about the function and design of the Schouwburgplein started and lasted for fifty years. Moscoviter (1997) has traced all the different plans and discussions (see Table 6.2). From this description, it becomes clear that the square's design has been indefinite for a long period due to its large size, the lack of money and materials, and the abundance of plans.

Table 6.2 shows that during the reconstruction of the city of Rotterdam, the Schouwburgplein initially became parking space. The square was officially launched as parking area in 1952. Planner Cornelis van Traa – who was also responsible for the 1946 reconstruction plan of Rotterdam – made the first effort to design the Schouwburgplein. However, it proved to be too ambitious and expensive. Van Traa's successor Fokkinga made a new design. He wanted to create an atmosphere of intimacy by reducing the square's size. Fokkinga's plan was adopted, albeit without reducing the Schouwburgplein. The official opening of the renewed square was in 1969. Soon criticism on Fokkinga's plans arose. Although the square looked well maintained and was functioning relatively well, the consensus was that the Schouwburgplein was the vent-hole of the city (Wentholt, 1968). The criticism induced new plans for the Schouwburgplein. Many meetings were held within and between departments of the local government, but no definite decision was made for a couple of years. The tide seemed to turn in 1984, when politicians decided that the temporary theatre would be demolished. The new theatre was opened in 1988. Meanwhile, there was still no definite plan for the square itself. Again, a number of new plans arose without any results. In 1986, Bakker started as new director of the department of urban development. As landscape architect, she considered public space to be of essential importance to the city's image. Therefore, she commissioned new plans for the Schouwburgplein. However, these designs proved also to be either unfeasible or too extreme (Moscoviter, 1997).

By 1990, the Schouwburgplein had become dilapidated. Nevertheless, there was no intention to patch up the square, because it was still unclear if the square would be completely redeveloped or only slightly renovated. In that year, Linthorst (alderman of finance, 1981-1990) became alderman of spatial planning. He was determined to become the last alderman who would deal with the problems of the Schouwburgplein. At the same time, three changes occurred that accelerated the process. First, the municipal awareness grew that a good public space has a positive influence on its environment. This resulted in a larger budget for the redevelopment of the Schouwburgplein. The second trigger was the debate regarding a large-scale multiplex cinema in the city centre. There were a number of small, old-fashioned cinemas in the centre of Rotterdam. The municipality was afraid these cinemas would be replaced by a large multiplex cinema at the edge of the city, as had happened in Belgian cities such as Antwerp and Brussels. The local government was determined to keep the cinema in the city, since Rotterdam was known for its annual international film festival. The Schouwburgplein was identified as a perfect location for the new, large multi-screen cinema. Its construction gave the redevelopment of the square a sense of urgency that was lacking in earlier plans. Third, Linthorst decided that it would be more useful to present multiple plans, of which one could be democratically selected, instead of one plan that could be rejected without an appropriate alternative. In 1993, three plans were developed, one by the department of urban development, one by architecture agency Bakker en Bleeker, and one by architect Adriaan Geuze of West 8 Landscape Architects. The plan by West 8 received most attention, not only because it was the most provocative and innovative one, but



Figure 6.2 Schouwburgplein

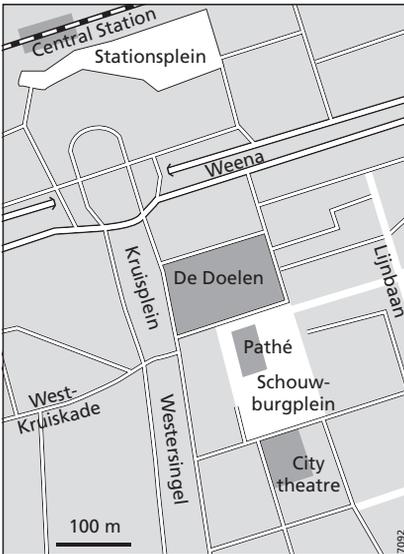


Figure 6.3 Map of the Schouwburgplein

also because architect Geuze had just received the prestigious architecture price Prix de Rome (Brummel, 1999). He did not propose to construct 'walls' to get an intimate atmosphere, but advocated the emptiness of the square.

But again, it remained silent for another two years. The urban development department published a new policy document on the city centre (*Binnenstad Rotterdam*), which again emphasised the municipality's desire to create a cultural cluster near the Schouwburgplein (dS+V et al., 1993). The new cinema would reinforce this development. Nevertheless, alderman Linthorst still had his doubts (Moscoviter, 1997). He preferred to reduce the size of the square in contrast to Geuze's plans that advocated emptiness. However, during meetings with residents and other stakeholders he realised that a majority of people supported Geuze's plan. After Linthorst signed the agreement with cinema company Cannon (now named Pathé), Geuze was appointed to design the Schouwburgplein in more detail. His post-modern design included a cinema at the corner of the square (designed by architect Van Velsen), and a 35 centimetres elevated square floor to create a city stage. The design was inspired by the city's maritime past, visualised by four red 35-metre-high light poles shaped like hoisting cranes (Figure 6.2), along with robust 70-metre-long wooden benches. This fits within the notion of urban entrepreneurialism, in which reference making to the industrial and working-class heritage of an area is often applied in redevelopment processes. Three rounds of budget cuts slowed down the construction process. In addition, the garage's roof partly collapsed during the construction activities. Moreover, the epoxy layer on top of the roof appeared to be applied in the wrong season, and consequently the floor became too slippery and needed to be removed (Brummel, 1999). The redeveloped Schouwburgplein was finally opened in June 1997.

The result has received both acclaim and criticism. The square is praised in a number of architectural publications (e.g., Veenendaal, 2003; Maier-Solgek & Greuter, 2004). They generally applaud the variety of materials used in the surface, from planking for ballgames and a rubber track for rollerblading to metal grids with fountains. Others describe the Schouwburgplein as an urban desert, not adapted to human beings (Hulsman, 1997). The criticism focuses on the high costs and use of certain materials (i.e., too much design, impractical, antisocial). According to Moscoviter, the criticism can be explained by the multiple aims of the redevelopment: "That dual application of functionality and aesthetics has become both the carrier of the plans, the challenge of the Schouwburgplein as well as its undermining factor ..." (Moscoviter, 1997: 13, translation from Dutch by the author). The users of public spaces in Rotterdam expressed similar feelings of discontent. Van Aalst and Ennen (2002) carried out a survey in five public spaces in Rotterdam: the Westersingel, Museumpark, Schouwburgplein, Beurstraverse and Westblaak. Compared to the other locations, the Schouwburgplein scored badly: 37 per cent of the respondents did not regard the square as an intimate location, 40 per cent did not feel invited, and 36 per cent disliked its design (Van Aalst & Ennen, 2002: 32). In addition, 43 per cent did not feel at home and 35 per cent did not like spending time there. However, the research also indicated that more than half of the respondents (65%) regarded the Schouwburgplein as a typical Rotterdam space.

### 6.2.3 Beurstraverse

The retail complex called the Beurstraverse ('Exchange passage') was opened in 1996. It was intended to strengthen the city centre's retail function by helping it compete with new shopping centres at the city's edge such as Zuidplein, Oosterhof, and Alexandrium (dS+V et al., 1993; Van Aalst & Ennen, 2002). The problem was that there was no room in the city centre to expand

Table 6.3 Timeline of developments at the Beurstraverse

Year	Developments
1940	Bombardment of the city centre of Rotterdam
1940s-1960s	Reconstruction of the Beursplein and Van Oldebarneveltplaats
1984	C&A contacts Multivastgoed to redevelop its department store. Multi sees opportunities to turn the upgrading of the store into a large redevelopment project and contacts the municipality to talk about possible redevelopment plans.
1992	First official indication of the Beursplein project in policy document (dS+V et al., 1993)
1993	Agreement between the local government, investor Nationale Nederlanden and Multi Development Corporation to set up a joint consortium (Gemeente Rotterdam, 1993)
1994	Start construction work
1996	Opening of the Beurstraverse

Source: based on Interviews (2006)

the retail floor space. Besides, the core shopping centre suffered from being dissected by a busy traffic artery, the Coolsingel. To get around these problems, the Beurstraverse was laid out as a 300-metre-long sunken underpass connecting two existing retail squares – the Beursplein and Van Oldenbarneveltplaats – which were previously separated by the Coolsingel. As such, it was nicknamed the *Koopgoot* ('Shopping trench'). The construction of the Beurstraverse created 60.000m<sup>2</sup> retail space divided among 95 shops; in addition 450 parking spaces and 106 apartments were added. Because it provides access to the metro station, the Beurstraverse cannot be closed off at night. Lying below grade, it is visually separated from the adjacent public spaces. But the passage also differs from its surroundings in another sense. It is owned and operated by a consortium that includes the ING Bank and a pension fund, along with the local government (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). The daily maintenance and supervision is contracted-out to Actys (formerly known as Dynamis), a private management company. In contrast, most of the adjacent area is entirely in the public domain, so it is operated and maintained by municipal services. The consortium subjects the users to tight restrictions: no alcoholic beverages, no street vendors, no bicycles, no loitering, and so on. The rules are clearly posted on signs at the entrances; numerous cameras and private security guards are in place to enforce them.

The initiative to redevelop the Beursplein and Van Oldenbarneveltplaats did not come from the municipality, but from the side of the private sector. The C&A, a retail conglomerate of Dutch origin, owned a major store at the Beursplein. By 1984 it did not meet C&A's requirements anymore, although the building was constructed only after the Second World War. Therefore, the board of directors contacted developer Multi to upgrade the store. However, Multi envisioned that the upgrading of C&A's property could be extended to the surrounding areas, turning the reconstruction of a single building into a large redevelopment project. At the same time, the local government was still in the midst of redeveloping the Schouwburgplein and Museumpark. In addition, it was focussing on the redevelopment of the Lijnbaan to improve the city's retail function. However, the municipal authorities became interested in Multi's plans for the Beurstraverse when the negotiation with the property owners of the Lijnbaan deadlocked. They reasoned that if the property owners of the Lijnbaan could not be enticed directly to improve their property, perhaps increased competition of a new shopping street could trigger them. In addition, the local government acknowledged that strengthening the city centre's retail function

was necessary in competition with other cities and new shopping centres at the city's edge. By linking the shopping areas on the east and west side of the Coolsingel, a large, connected shopping area would come into existence, with a size unique for the region (dS+V et al., 1993).

The municipality and Multi soon came to an agreement to co-operate in order to redevelop the Beursplein area. To avoid repetition of the Lijnbaan problems, the local government insisted on setting up a so-called public-private consortium that would own and operate the area after redevelopment. The consortium would include the main investors along with the local government itself. This way, the local government would remain responsible for the quality of the area in the long run. In addition, it reduced the risk that a private party would barter away this important part of the city centre: "Thus, the argument ran, the city would have to play an important and permanent role in this project; only then could the area's envisioned contribution to the revitalization of the downtown commercial center be safeguarded ..." (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003: 81). An additional reason was that the entrance to the metro station was in the Beurstraverse. The local government wanted to make sure that the metro (a public good) would remain accessible for everybody.

The consortium agreement was set up mid-1993 and included the local government and investor Nationale Nederlanden (now ING Bank). The participation of the local government is unique: no other Dutch municipality actually owns commercial retail property. Besides its usual responsibility to provide public goods, the government also acts as a private party, since it owns part of the shares. This dual role is also manifest in the municipality's financial contribution to the daily supervision. The government pays for part of the daily operations, because the access to the metro station is located in the Beurstraverse. However, the local government also foots the bill for another share of the daily operations, simply because it is part owner of the retail complex. Besides financing, the following agreements were made (Gemeente Rotterdam, 1993):

- *Profits and losses*: these are shared in accordance with the financial contribution. The local government participates for 1/8 and the private parties for 7/8.
- *Ownership*: the Beurstraverse is owned by the consortium, but has to remain publicly accessible in accordance with the local ordinance. The metro station as well as Beursplein, Coolsingel and Van Oldenbarneveltsplaats remained municipal property. The local government has full authority in this area, but is not allowed to change its design without consent of the consortium.
- *Rights*: until completion it was prohibited for the consortium members to sell their shares to other private parties. After completion, this was only allowed with consent of all members. C&A's pension fund Focas bought part of Nationale Nederlanden's share immediately after completion and thus became the third consortium member.
- *Management*: the daily supervision is the responsibility of Nationale Nederlanden (now ING Bank), but is contracted out to management company Dynamis (now Actys).

After the consortium was set up, the redevelopment of the Beursplein could start. T+T Design, an office closely connected to Multi, became responsible for the architectural concept and proposed the idea of a sunken underpass. Pi de Bruijn of the Architecten Cie was appointed to design the width and the shape of the street, the location, and shape of the steps and entrances. American architect Jon Jerde was selected to design the interior of the Beurstraverse. He gave it a Mediterranean flavour by using a fountain, marble, and warm-coloured materials (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4 Beurstraverse

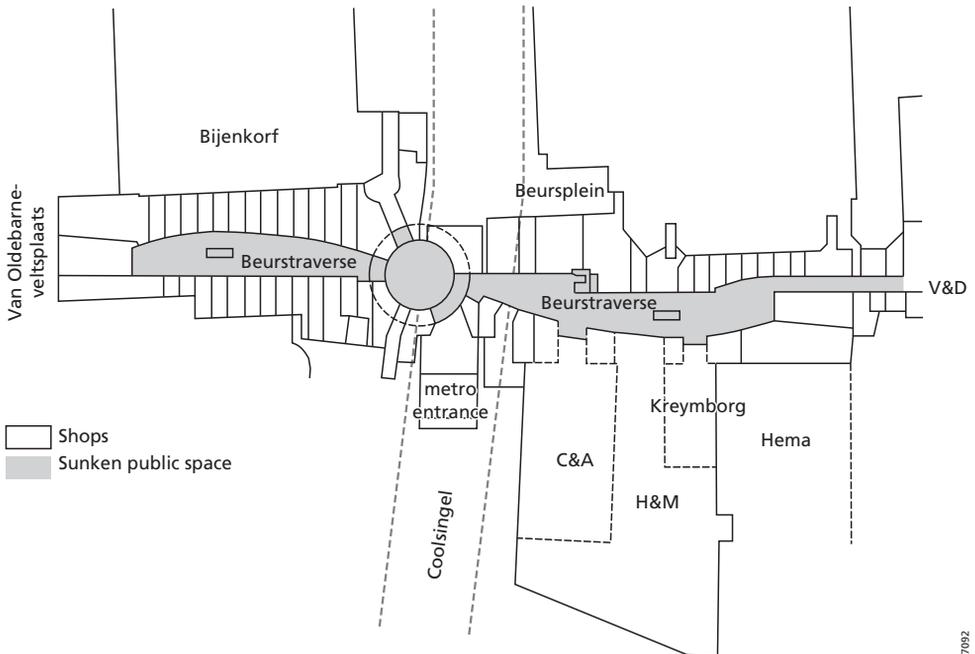


Figure 6.5 Map of the Beurstraverse

The development of the Beurstraverse appears to be a success. It was recipient of the annual award of the Dutch council of shopping centres (NRW) in 1997. A large survey conducted in 2002 shows that on average 6,500 people per hour visit the Beurstraverse on weekdays and 81,700 per hour on Saturdays (BRM, 2002). Most people visit it frequently (1.8 times per week) and 36 per cent stays for more than an hour. More than half of the visitors (60%) spend money when visiting the Beurstraverse (BRM, 2002). The research by Van Aalst and Ennen (2002) also shows that the Beurstraverse is very well evaluated. The users feel that the passage is intimate, clean, and inviting. Many people (72%) find the Beurstraverse typical for Rotterdam despite of its Mediterranean character. However, the Beurstraverse's contribution to the attractiveness of Rotterdam's city centre is also sometimes questioned. Some argue that it has become a *counter locale*, a place that appears to be public but is actually exclusive (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003; Van Aalst & Bergenhengouwen, 2003). They base their argumentation on the fact that the Beurstraverse is a secured public space, monitored by over 60 cameras and subject to strict regulation. Others do not seem to regard this as unbeneficial; Multi and the ABN Amro Bank even have plans to duplicate the Beurstraverse and construct another retail underpass in the city centre. The construction of this second *Koopgoot* is expected to cost 300 million euro and will start in 2012. It will add 20,000m<sup>2</sup> extra retail space to the city and will be designed by architect Rem Koolhaas (AD, 2007a).

### 3.3 Dordrecht

Dordrecht is a medium-sized city (118,821 inhabitants on 01-01-2006: Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007) located at only a short distance from Rotterdam. It was the first town in Holland to obtain city rights in 1220 and it became an important and affluent port city in the 14th and 15th century. However, Dordrecht was no longer thriving by the end of the 20th century. Its city centre was in a bad condition, despite several plans to upgrade it throughout the decades.

#### 6.3.1 Policy and structure in Dordrecht

Table 6.4 gives an overview of the different policy plans and related changes in public space. It starts with the demolition activities that took place in the city centre within the framework of the 1961 Demolition and reconstruction plan (*Sanerings- en Reconstructieplan Binnenstad*). The modernist thoughts of the CIAM stimulated good accessibility of the centre in many cities. In Dordrecht, the idea was to create two axes to make the city more accessible: one running from west-east, one from north-south. The Spuiboulevard, situated south of the historic centre, has become the west-east axis. The north-south axis has only partly been completed: it starts at the Spuiboulevard, crosses Achterom and ends at the Statenplein. Initially the south-north axis would also have crossed the historic Beguinage northeast of the Statenplein, all the way to the landing of the ferry to Papendrecht. However, the local government soon realised that the demolition would harm the city. The Statenplein became a parking space at the end of the axis. The Grote Markt (large market) has the same origin and function. It was also created during the 1960s rehabilitation activities. Dordrecht had many small markets, such as the Botermarkt (butter market), Aardappelmarkt (potato market), and Vismarkt (fish market), but lacked a large market square that could also serve as parking lot.

Table 6.4 Policies and changes in public space in the city centre of Dordrecht

Period	Year	Policies	Year	Changes in public space
1960s	1961	Demolition and reconstruction plan ( <i>Sanerings- en Reconstructieplan Binnenstad</i> ). Focus on accessibility of city centre.	1962	Start demolition activities and construction of Statenplein and Grote Markt
1970s	1972	End of demolition activities	1974	Renewal Statenplein
1980s	1982	Urban revitalisation plan ( <i>Stadsvernieuwingsplan</i> ). Focus on historical character of the city (monuments, restoration of buildings).	1982	Construction of Waagpassage to close opening between Scheffersplein and Grote Markt
1990s	1991	Revitalisation plan ( <i>Dordrecht vernieuwt</i> ). Focus on renovating buildings, strengthening housing- and recreational function of centre.		
	1996	Business plan ( <i>Ondernemingsplan Binnenstad</i> ) and foundation of a municipal agency responsible for city centre changes ( <i>Programma Bureau Binnenstad</i> ). Focus on improving whole city centre.		
2000s	2000	City plan ( <i>Stadsplan Dordrecht</i> ). Focus on strengthening housing function of city centre.	2001 2002 2005	Opening of renewed Spuiboulevard Opening of renewed Statenplein Opening of renewed Grote Markt
	2002	Traffic circulation plan ( <i>Verkeersplan Binnenstad</i> ). Focus on making city centre car free.	2008 2008	<i>Redevelopment Achterom/Bagijnhof</i> <i>Redevelopment of Stationsplein</i>
	2007	City centre map 2008-2012 ( <i>Programmakaart binnenstad</i> ). Focus on making the city centre more appealing and lively, and improving its access routes.		

Source: based Interviews (2006). NB. Indicated years refer to the completion of the redevelopment project; the actual redevelopment process often started earlier. Changes in public space after 2007 are indicated in italics, as the proposed years of completion might be subject to change.

The demolition was carried out to improve the accessibility of the city centre by car and to increase its attractiveness to visitors but instead it caused a downward spiral. The city centre had become fragmented, public spaces were not well designed, and residents of the city and of neighbouring towns such as Hoeksewaard, Papendrecht, and Alblasserwaard preferred to go to Breda or Rotterdam to do their shopping, causing Dordrecht to lose its regional shopping function. The local government realised redevelopment of the city centre was necessary to turn the tide. In 1982, it presented the urban revitalisation plan (*Stadsvernieuwingsplan*), which improved the situation slightly, but did not solve the problems. According to the local government, the main problem was not the lack of history and identity, but the fact that the so-called 'pearls' of the city had become invisible to the public. At the beginning of the 1990s this acknowledgment resulted in another revitalisation plan (*Dordrecht vernieuwt*), which included plans to renovate buildings, to strengthen the housing function, and to create an event policy in order to increase the recreational function of the city centre. Some of these plans were realised,

such as *Rondje Dordt*, a walking route that links all tourist sites and provides information by means of signs. However, also this memorandum did not prove to be sufficient. It did not contain a comprehensive vision of the future development of the city centre, nor did the plan have enough support from local entrepreneurs and investors. The municipality realised that redevelopment of the city centre could only be accomplished by a comprehensive and interactive co-operation with the private sector. This resulted in the new 1996 memorandum, which was named business plan (*Ondernemingsplan binnenstad*) because the city centre was regarded as a business offering products such as shopping, entertainment, housing, and offices (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996).

The 1996 business plan roughly consisted of three elements: the ‘hardware’ (i.e., physical and spatial projects necessary to improve the city), the ‘software’ (i.e., stimulation of culture, museums, cafés, heritage, and events), and an implementation plan regarding the required budgets and a timeline. The plan was shaped in close co-operation with the association of local entrepreneurs and other stakeholders. Its main goal was to invest in the quality of retail, public space, accessibility, and the total appearance of the city. To achieve this goal, three main themes were formulated (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996: 60):

1. Identifying water and history as important characteristics of Dordrecht (main focus: the Spuiboulevard)
2. Improving the shopping district (main focus: the Statenplein and Achterom/Bagijnhof)
3. Improving squares and creating a circuit of restaurants and sidewalk cafés (main focus: the Grote Markt and Scheffersplein)

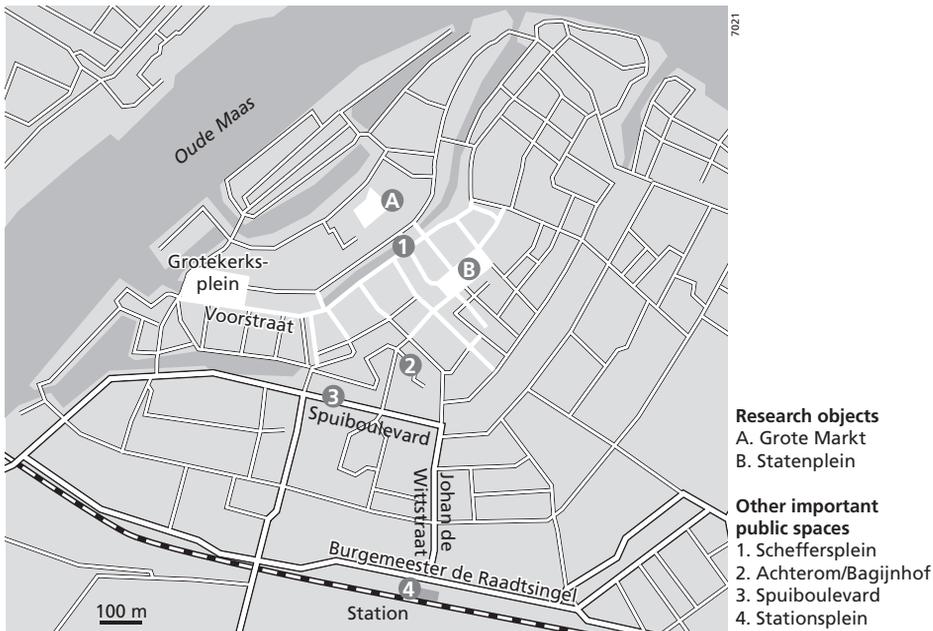


Figure 6.6 Map of the city centre of Dordrecht

The Spuiboulevard was the first project completed within the framework of the business plan. The idea behind this sequence was that the accessibility of the city centre needed to be improved in an aesthetical manner before the centre was upgraded. Landscape architecture agency MTD was selected to make the new design for the Spuiboulevard. Because MTD's design was well evaluated, the agency was later also selected to design the Statenplein and surroundings. The redevelopment of the Spuiboulevard included the excavation of the earlier filled-in port, the construction of five bridges over the water, narrowing the boulevard, and planting an avenue of trees as spatial element between the small-scale historical centre and the large office constructions south of the boulevard. The redevelopment was finished in 2001.

The second step in the improvement of Dordrecht's city centre was the redevelopment of the Statenplein in 2002 (Section 6.3.3) and the building block bounded by the streets Achterom and Bagijnhof. The block includes two large shops (i.e., C&A and Hema) and is rather derelict. The plan was to redevelop it shortly after the completion of the Statenplein, but the project is still unfinished. The reconstruction stagnated due to problems with high concentrations of fine particles. Recently, legislation has become stricter on air quality in the Netherlands, enabling opponents to stop construction projects until the effect of the project on the air quality is measured and found acceptable. In case of Dordrecht, this implied the suspension of two crucial construction licences for the planned indoor parking garage. The Council of State reviewed the objection and decided in 2007 that the project could be continued. The plans are to redevelop the Achterom/Bagijnhof quickly, as it currently forms an unattractive barrier between the train station and the city centre.

The third theme of the business plan – improving squares and creating a circuit of restaurants and pavement cafés – has been implemented. The Grote Markt and Scheffersplein have been redesigned after the weekly market was transferred from these squares to the redeveloped Statenplein. The Grote Markt is discussed in more detail in the next section. The Scheffersplein is an example of a vault square, a broad bridge over a canal functioning as square. The square was upgraded with minor changes in its design. The façade of department store V&D was renovated and new licences were provided to café and restaurant owners to expand outdoors. The square has transformed into a typical café square with many sidewalk cafés.

The 1996 business plan is by far the most influential document for the reconstruction of Dordrecht's city centre in general and the Grote Markt and Statenplein in particular. Since then, a number of other policy plans regarding the city centre have been formulated (see Table 6.4). A new City Plan (*Stadsplan Dordrecht*) was presented in 2000, which – similar to Rotterdam – lobbied for strengthening the housing function of the city centre. A new traffic circulation plan (*Verkeersplan Binnenstad*) was set up in 2002, in which traffic flows and parking facilities in the core of the city were reduced. Recently, the mayor and aldermen presented a new city centre map (*Programmakaart binnenstad 2008-2012*), which forms a bridge between the 1996 business plan, the current situation, and the future of the city centre. The main aim is to make the city centre more appealing by improving its access routes, increasing opening hours of shops and other facilities, and adding new facilities such as a cinema or new museum. The map still needs to be approved by the city council (AD, 2007b).

The redevelopment of Dordrecht's city centre is not yet completed, as the Achterom/Bagijnhof project still needs to be executed. The same applies to the train station square, which will be redeveloped in 2008. The local government could not redevelop this square earlier, because it needed the co-operation of the Dutch railway company NS (*Nederlandse Spoorwegen*), which

focused its attention and budget to the redevelopment of other train station (squares) in the Netherlands, such as the Stationsplein in Rotterdam. Despite the fact that the reconstruction is still in full swing, the impact on its image and use of the city centre can already be observed. Dordrecht has been nominated as best city centre in the Netherlands in 2004 and 2005 by the platform for city centre management (Platform Binnenstadsmanagement, 2005) and was selected City of Events in 2003 by tourism organisation TRN. The number of visitors on Saturdays has increased 55 per cent from 151,300 to 234,900 between 2000 en 2003. The Social Geographic Office (SGB) has researched the opinion of the inhabitants of both Dordrecht and other surrounding cities (known as the *Drecht*-cities) about characteristics of the city centre. The research shows that people feel more positive about Dordrecht's features, especially with regard to shopping and sidewalk cafés. 58 per cent of the inhabitants feel that Dordrecht offers pleasant shopping possibilities in 2004 compared to 40 per cent in 1999. More than half (56%) thinks there are many nice sidewalk cafés in the city in 2004 compared to 35 per cent in 1999. The inhabitants of Dordrecht appear to be less positive about the attractiveness of Dordrecht than residents of other Drecht-cities (respectively 71% versus 85%) and the availability of nice shops in the city centre (respectively 42% versus 73%). This finding suggests that the redevelopment of Dordrecht's city centre has been successful in regaining the city's regional shopping function, but also that there is still room for improvement according to the city's residents.

### 6.3.2 Grote Markt

The Grote Markt is a very common name for Dutch public spaces (Section 2.3). It often refers to the central, vibrant square of a city of medieval origin. Examples are the Grote Markt in Groningen, Bergen op Zoom, Middelburg, Breda, and Haarlem. The Grote Markt in Dordrecht is different, as it is neither historical nor lively. It resulted from the 1960s demolition activities discussed above (see Table 6.5). The existing residential buildings were not up to standard and were therefore demolished. Also two historic buildings were pulled down: the weighing house (*Waag*) and Synagogue. In return, a large market and parking place was constructed as well as new housing, which at the time had a modern appeal.

Two decades later, the city already regretted the outcome of the rehabilitation. It carried out the urban revitalisation plan (*Stadsvernieuwingsplan*) in 1982. For the Grote Markt area, this implied that the large opening between the Scheffersplein and Grote Markt was narrowed with a new construction, the Waagpassage (Rein Geurtsen & Partners, 2003). But despite these efforts, the Grote Markt remained an outlier in the historic fine-grained structure of the city. The 1996 business plan summarised the state of the Grote Markt at the end of the 1990s as follows: "The Grote Markt (and surroundings) has little appeal and is focused on low-frequency shopping. Here, people feel they are already outside the centre ..." (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996: 50, translation from Dutch by the author). The wish to restore the historic character of the area was a trigger for the redevelopment plans of the Grote Markt. A more direct reason was the necessity to redesign the square after the move of the weekly market from the Grote Markt (and Scheffersplein) to the Statenplein. The 1996 business plan had indicated that the Statenplein would be a better location for the weekly market. The local entrepreneurs objected, fearing the withdrawal of activities and visits from the Grote Markt. However, the local authorities decided that the advantages of placing the market on the Statenplein would outweigh the disadvantages of removing it from the Grote Markt and the Scheffersplein. After this decision, both the Scheffersplein and the Grote Markt needed a new function and design, because they were worn

Table 6.5 Timeline of developments at the Grote Markt

Year	Developments
1960s	Creation of the Grote Markt as result of the demolition of residences, the weighing house, and synagogue. The Grote Markt was created to function as parking and market space.
1970s	New housing was built on the west side of the square
1982	Creation of Waagpassage between the Scheffersplein and Grote Markt to make the Grote Markt more intimate and to restore the historic fine-grained structure of the city
2001	Move of the market from the Grote Markt/Scheffersplein to the new Statenplein
2002	Selection of landscape architect Rein Geurtsen to develop new plan for Grote Markt.
2003	Presentation of Geurtsen's plans
2004	Cancellation of Geurtsen's plans due to fiscal problems. The local government decided in co-operation with the local population to temporarily redevelop the Grote Markt.
2005	Redevelopment and opening of the new Grote Markt
2007	The fiscal problems are solved, enabling new discussions about the Grote Markt's future

Source: based on Interviews (2006)

after functioning as market place for decades. The Scheffersplein was repaved and designated as new café square of Dordrecht. A new function for the Grote Markt was less obvious.

The municipality decided to retain an external planning agency to brainstorm about the potential function and design of the Grote Markt and selected Rein Geurtsen & Partners to make a new plan. The architect's main advice was to restore the fine-grained structure that existed in the area prior to the demolitions by reducing the square's size. This would turn it from a market place and parking square into a residential square, and make it a more attractive route from the shopping district to the harbour area (Rein Geurtsen & Partners, 2003). The development of extra residential units supported the city plan of 2000 (*Stadsplan Dordrecht*) to create more housing in the city centre. Geurtsen's plans looked promising, but soon appeared to be unfeasible. Fortis Bank owned the 1970s housing complex on the west side of the square, which was planned to be demolished. However, the local government could not acquire Fortis' property, nor was the bank capable to arrange for the demolition. The reason was that the property was built by means of a sale-and-lease back construction, implying that it was partially financed by a so-called developer subsidy. According to the fiscal arrangements, Fortis ran the risk of a 30 million euro penalty if it violated the agreements made before the expiration of forty years. This meant that no demolition works or sales of the property were allowed until 2015, unless the fiscal regulations would be eased earlier.

After this became clear, the local government decided to temporarily redevelop the Grote Markt. The municipality made a new design in co-operation with local residents. The redevelopment started in January 2005 and was limited to repaving the square with bricks, planting new trees, creating a more efficient use of parking spaces, adapting lighting, and placing benches and garbage cans (Figure 6.7). The total costs for the redesign were 2,1 million euro, including prior archaeological research. The new Grote Markt was opened in June 2005. Despite of the new design of the square, a number of the surrounding shops have closed down, leaving vacant units on the ground floors. According to interviewed representatives of the local government, the vacancies were anticipated since improving one part of the city can negatively affect another part. However, the situation on the Grote Markt might improve in the near future. The fiscal problems that have hampered the redevelopment have recently been solved. It



Figure 6.7 Grote Markt



Figure 6.8 Map of the Grote Markt

is unclear when the real redevelopment will take place and if Geurtsen's designs will be carried out. However, it is almost certain that the 1970s housing will be demolished and replaced by a residential structure that better fits the historical character of the city, leading to a reduction of the Grote Markt's size.

### 6.3.3 Statenplein

Like many other Dutch cities, Dordrecht never had an abundance of squares. The original pattern of the city is fine-grained with many narrow streets. This changed during the demolition activities that took place in the 1960s, which resulted in the construction of the Statenplein. In its current form and function, it is a typical retail square lined by shops (and some cafés and snack bars) on all four sides. The square itself is used as market place twice a week and occasionally for events. Yet, the timeline of developments shows that many plans have preceded the current Statenplein (Table 6.6). The first plans to demolish part of Dordrecht's city centre appeared in 1949. The owner of the V&D, a department store located on the Voorstraat, supported the plan and even threatened to leave the city if the demolition plans would not be implemented. V&D was in favour of a large square behind its store, because this would create extra parking space and enable an enlargement of the store. The Statenplein came into existence in 1962 and became a parking space. The local government soon realised that creating such a large space in the fine-grained structure of the city was a mistake. In 1972, the demolition activities stopped and ideas were raised to reduce the size of the Statenplein, which was experienced as being too big (8,100m<sup>2</sup>). The new Statenplein was reopened in 1974 and appeared smaller due to the construction of new kiosks (Bouman, 2007).

Only a decade later, new discussions started concerning the Statenplein. Many local entrepreneurs were dissatisfied with the kiosk-design. The department of urban development appointed architect Hoogstad in 1990 to make a new design for the Statenplein. His plan included the removal of the kiosks and the construction of a new building in the northeastern corner of the square. Local entrepreneurs opposed the plan and it was turned down. The local government appointed Leyten & Brand in 1991 to develop the Statenplein. Two years later, the developer concluded that it was impossible to develop an economically feasible plan that would fit in the urban structure. Meanwhile, the first kiosks were demolished, but a few shopkeepers were not willing to leave their kiosk and hampered the process (Bouman, 2007).

Vendex – the corporation of V&D – started to interfere with the decision-making process in 1993. According to Mielliet and Voorn (2001: 85), many of the traditional department stores in Europe encountered problems in the 1990s as a result of the more erratic behaviour of the mobile consumer and increasing competition from shopping malls. Vendex had similar problems and started to close some stores and decrease the size of others. Developer Multi co-operated with Vendex in most of these redevelopment projects. Vendex wanted to renovate its V&D store in Dordrecht, but was also interested in the redevelopment of its surroundings in order to attract more visitors. Together with Multi, it presented a plan for the Statenplein including a new building at the southwestern corner of the square between the V&D and shopping centre Drievriendenhof. In the meantime, the economic situation in Dordrecht further deteriorated. The municipality wanted a new plan for the city centre. This resulted in the 1996 business plan, which argued in favour of Vendex and Multi's plans (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996).

Table 6.6 Timeline of developments at the Statenplein

Year	Developments
1962	Origin of the Statenplein as result of demolition activities
1965	Widening of the Sarisgang
1972	After the demolition was stopped, ideas arose to reduce the size of the Statenplein. Two plans favoured the construction of a new building on the square, a third plan proposed multiple kiosks. The third idea gained most support from local entrepreneurs.
1974	Opening of the renewed Statenplein with kiosks
1990	The urban development department appointed architect Hoogstad to make a new design for the Statenplein. Local entrepreneurs opposed his plan, which was eventually turned down.
1991	Construction and opening of shopping centre Drievriendenhof
1991	Leyten & Brand was selected to develop the Statenplein. Three architectural agencies presented a new design: Reijers, Gunnar Daan and Cepezed. Daan's plan was selected.
1993	Leyten & Brand and Gunnar Daan stated they are unable to develop an economically feasible plan that fits into Dordrecht's urban structure.
1993	Department store V&D and developer Multi presented a plan for the Statenplein
1996	Publication of the business plan (Ondernemingsplan), creation of the new Task Force City Centre (Programma Bureau Binnenstad), formulation of a declaration of intent with Multi as risk sharing developer and a programme of demands (Programma van Eisen)
1997	Publication of the Masterplan Statenplein and selection of (landscape) architects
1999	The city council made the final decision to start the redevelopment of the Statenplein. V&D immediately started with the renovation of its department store.
2001	Opening of the Nieuwe Blok
2002	Redevelopment of the Gevulde Gracht and the Statenplein
2006	Redevelopment of shopping centre Drievriendenhof

Source: based on Bouman (2007) and Interviews (2006)

Three other important changes took place in 1996. First, a new team called Task Force City Centre (*Programma Bureau Binnenstad*) was set up within the local government. The agency was separated from the department of urban development and was specifically responsible for redevelopment of the city centre. Second, the council gave permission to sign a declaration of intent with Multi as risk taking developer. Also, agreements were made between the local government and real estate owners Achmea and Vendex (Bouman, 2007). Third, a programme of demands (*Programma van Eisen*) was set up by the city council, which resulted in the formulation of the *Masterplan Statenplein* in 1997 (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1997). The master plan included the redevelopment of the Statenplein, Kolfstraat, Sarisgang, Achterom, and Bagijnhof (see Figure 6.10). The plan emphasised to make the whole area car free, except for deliveries within fixed hours. A bicycle shed for 1500 bicycles was planned in the basement of the V&D, which had become redundant due to smaller stocks. The master plan did not include a parking garage underneath the Statenplein, although the association of entrepreneurs had been advocating this. With regard to retail and design, the 1997 master plan focussed on strengthening the shopping quadrant of Dordrecht. The Kolfstraat had become an unattractive alley to pass, the kiosks on the Statenplein were obstacles, and the entrance of shopping centre the Drievriendenhof was unattractive. These issues needed to be resolved. Initially, the inhabitants of Dordrecht disliked the new plans, but the criticism stopped after many rounds of consultation and hearings. The city council decided to start the redevelopment of the Statenplein in January 1999.



Figure 6.9 Statenvlein



Figure 6.10 Map of the Statenvlein

The designers for both buildings and public space were selected in 1997. Rijnbout (Architectengroep, former Chief Government Architect) became responsible for the renovation of the V&D, which began in December 1999. The city store formula was used, which implied that the V&D retracted to the core of the building, thereby creating a ring of smaller shops around the department store each with its own shop window and entrance on the ground floor. Rijnbout was responsible for the new design of the V&D (and later also the Gevulde Gracht), but also acted as supervisor of the total redevelopment of the Statenplein. The construction of the new building (*Nieuwe Blok*) started in March 2000. Initially, it would consist of two buildings; one designed by the Belgian architect Vandenhove and one by Rudy Uytenhaak from Amsterdam. However, Uytenhaak left the project after a new plan was made to construct only one building. The Nieuwe Blok has shops at the ground floor and housing units on the upper floors. The building needed to function as landmark of the city, but the city council was afraid it would become too high, and consequently one floor was left out of the design. It was officially opened in September 2001 (Bouman, 2007). The Gevulde Gracht was also part of the redevelopment plans of the Statenplein. However, developer Multi had great difficulties to acquire the property from its owner. Achmea Global Investors already owned the Drievriendenhof and would acquire the property of the Nieuwe Blok after completion. When Achmea made a bid in a later stage of the redevelopment process, the owner changed his mind and sold his property to Achmea. The purchase of the Gevulde Gracht by Achmea enabled the major renovation of the building. In April 2002, the building was stripped and rebuilt after a design by Kees Rijnbout.

The redevelopment of the public space also took place in 2002. Landscape agency MTD – which had also successfully designed the renewed Spuiboulevard – outlined a relatively empty square because obstacles would hamper the market. The intensive use of the market on Fridays and Saturdays also required a pavement of good quality to avoid damage and filthiness. Moreover, electricity hubs, hook-ups, and drainage were necessary to facilitate the market. MTD chose a pavement of Chinese granite, complemented with eight classicist granite pillars as lampposts (see Figure 6.9). The square has a downward slope because of natural differences in height. To facilitate the market, MTD wanted to keep the square as flat as possible and to solve the height differences by means of a number of steps at the northern side of the square. Multi disliked the idea, because they were afraid these steps would form a barrier to the shops behind them. The compromise was the construction of one single step covered by a long wooden bench to prevent people from stumbling. MTD also designed a fountain in front of the Nieuwe Blok. After an investment in public space of 10 million euro, the Statenplein was officially opened in September 2002. The redevelopment project was completed in 2006, when shopping centre Drievriendenhof was also reconstructed.

The opinions concerning the redeveloped Statenplein have in general been very positive. Similar to the Beurstraverse, it won the annual award of the Dutch council of shopping centres (NRW) in 2003. According to the jury, the Statenplein has been a successful transformation from an outdated urban area to a modern and lively retail location. A year later, it was proclaimed market of the year by the merchant association (CVAH). More recently, the Statenplein project has been praised in a report of the Court of Audit (*Rekenkamer*) of Dordrecht. The Court evaluated three large economic projects in the city: the redevelopment of the Statenplein, the construction of the new Prince Willem-Alexander wharf, and the foundation of business park Amstelwijck (Hindriks, 2006). The report indicates that the Statenplein is the only project that has brought the promised economic resurgence for the city centre. The Court attributes its

success to a strong project leader, detailed planning, and the involvement and efforts of residents, shopkeepers, real estate owners, and representatives of the local government.

## 6.4 Enschede

Enschede is a medium-sized city in the eastern part of the Netherlands (154,377 inhabitants in 2006: Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007), located very close to the German border. Its historic centre is characterised by a typical egg-shaped form, which has remained mostly intact since the 13th and 14th century despite of large city fires and the bombing of the city at the end of the Second World War (Figure 6.11). For a long time, it was known as a manufacturing city with the textile industry as major economic resource. As other industrial cities such as Tilburg and Eindhoven in the Netherlands or Manchester and Lille abroad, Enschede grew swiftly in the 19th and 20th century (Baart & Schaap, 2007), but ran into economic problems from the 1970s onwards. Yücesoy (2006) described Enschede's transition in four stages of urban development. The first period reflects a traditional city structure, in which Enschede grew organically from a medieval town into an industrial city at the end of the 19th century. Because of the swift industrial growth, the working-class was attracted to the city, leading to a fast population growth and the demolition of the old city walls to house all the inhabitants. The second period runs from the housing act in the Netherlands (1901) to the Second World War (1939). In this

Table 6.7 Policies and changes in public space in the city centre of Enschede

Period	Year	Policies	Year	Changes in public space
1940s	1949	Reconstruction plan ( <i>Wederopbouwplan Enschede</i> ). Focus on recovery after several bombings during the Second World War and making the city centre accessible		
1950s			1956	Construction Boulevard 1945 and origin of the Van Heekplein
1960s				
1970s				
1980s	1989	Beating hart ( <i>Kloppend hart</i> ) memorandum. Outlining the first views on upgrading the city centre	1981	Redevelopment Oude Markt
1990s	1993	Master plan for city centre, resulting in the publication of the:	1998	Redevelopment Stationsplein
	1996	City centre handbook ( <i>Binnenstadsboek</i> ). Focus on creating a coherent city centre characterised by retail, culture, cafés, and restaurants		
2000s	2001	Urban heart Enschede ( <i>Stedelijk hart Enschede</i> ): European subsidy programme to improve the economic and social structure of the city	2003 2004 2004 2010	Redevelopment Van Heekplein Redevelopment Stadserf/Oude Markt Adjustments to Stationsplein <i>(Re)development Muziekkwartier</i>

Source: based on Interviews (2006). NB. Indicated years refer to the completion of the redevelopment project; the actual redevelopment process often started earlier. Changes in public space after 2007 are indicated in italics, as the proposed years of completion might be subject to change.

period, the city expanded concentrically around the city centre. During the Second World War, Enschede was severely damaged and required substantial rebuilding of the city centre until 1970. Like in other cities, the modernist functional ideas of the CIAM gained influence in Enschede. However, the principles were mainly applied to the development of new neighbourhoods built in the northwest rather than to the redevelopment of the city centre. Therefore, the traditional pattern of the city centre has largely been preserved. The exception was Boulevard 1945, which was laid out in 1956 south of the historic centre (Figure 6.11). The fourth period from 1970 till present shows the outward growth of the city, including major residential developments in the north and south (Yücesoy, 2006). In this particular phase, Enschede ran into major economic problems:

The period starting with the late 1970s until the 1990s was not the best of times for Enschede; the city lost its status as one of the major industrial centers of the Netherlands. Due to the competitive textile industry abroad, production dropped, almost all of the textile factories were closed and the city's economic development fell below that of the rest of the country. While unemployment rates began to rise, social unrest grew. Urban development projects, a.o. renewal and redevelopment of the city centre, new housing areas were either partly realized or stopped [see Table 6.7 with no policy plans and changes in public space in the 1960s and 1970s]. The city almost went bankrupt.... (Yücesoy, 2006: 77)

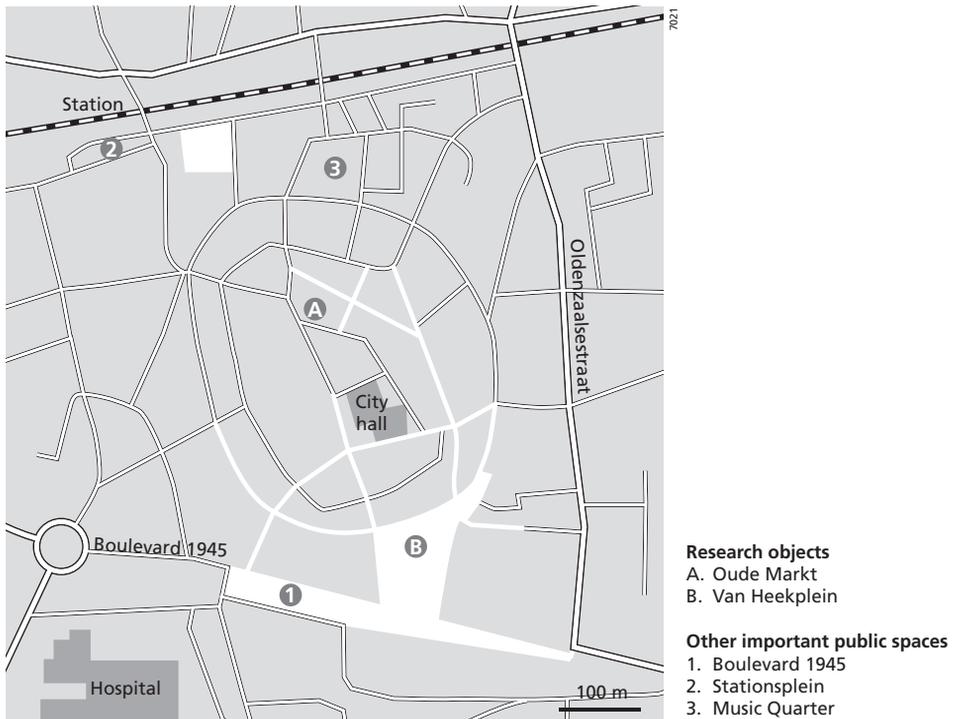


Figure 6.11 Map of the city centre of Enschede

#### 6.4.1 Policy and structure in Enschede

To combat these problems, the city of Enschede decided to restructure its centre thoroughly and to transform the city from a dominant industrial city to a dominant retail and residential city. The transformation was enhanced by the abolition the *Schengen* agreement of the European Union in the middle of the 1990s. After the abolition, the border between the Netherlands and Germany opened up, resulting in increased numbers of German visitors. Enschede also received economic development subsidies from the Dutch government and the European Union for economic networking with nearby German cities within the framework of Euregional co-operation (Yücesoy, 2006). It also obtained subsidies from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to finance economic and physical improvements in its distressed urban neighbourhoods (Gemeente Enschede, 2003). Part of the subsidies could be directed to redevelop the city centre. The local authorities increasingly acknowledged the necessity of redevelopment because neighbouring cities, especially Hengelo, were already improving their city centres. To be able to compete with these cities, Enschede needed to redevelop its public space. The main policy document regarding the city centre redevelopment was the so-called city centre handbook (*Binnenstadsboek*), which was published in 1996. This handbook outlined four major fields of improvement in the city centre of Enschede (Gemeente Enschede, 1996):

1. Redevelopment of the surroundings of the train station
2. Redevelopment of the Van Heekplein by redirecting the Boulevard 1945
3. Redevelopment of the streets and squares in the historic city centre – the so-called *Stads erf* (City premises) – including the Oude Markt
4. Redevelopment of the so-called *Muziekkwartier* (Music quarter)

The local government started by redeveloping the surroundings of the train station in co-operation with landscape architecture agency OKRA. The redeveloped square was completed in 1998, but was often perceived as too empty. It was therefore repaved in 2004. The second project was the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein, which is discussed in more detail in Section 6.4.3. The redevelopment started with rerouting the Boulevard 1945 that previously bisected the square. As a result, the Van Heekplein could be enlarged and improved. The redevelopment was stopped for a short period after a large firework explosion that occurred in May 2000, which destroyed the residential neighbourhood Roombeek located north from the city centre. The effects of the disaster were immense: 23 people lost their lives, over 950 people were injured and the material damage was estimated at 454 million euros. Two aldermen – including the one who was in charge of the redevelopment of the city centre – took political responsibility and resigned. Construction work at the Van Heekplein temporarily stopped. However, it was soon decided that the redevelopment of the city centre should be rapidly continued to show the resilience of Enschede and give its inhabitants something to be proud of. The new Van Heekplein was reopened in 2003.

To assure that the improvements at the Van Heekplein would not negatively influence other public spaces, the municipal authorities decided to simultaneously redevelop other parts of the city centre called the *Stads erf* (Section 6.4.2). This project, including the redevelopment of the Oude Markt, was completed in 2004. The fourth and final focus of the city centre handbook, the construction of the Music Quarter, is still in full swing (Baart & Schaap, 2007). The idea is to create a concentration of music-related institutes, such as an opera, Podium Twente, Saxion's conservatory, and pop podium Atak. The 45 million euro project includes the construction of new

buildings to host these institutes connected by a new, large square. The cluster will be completed in 2010 and needs to boost Enschede's image as music city.

Although not completely finished yet, the redevelopment of the city centre has turned the tide for Enschede. While at the end of the 1980s the city was impoverished, it has now become a vibrant centre. It was nominated as best city centre of 2005. Although Groningen won the election, there were many words of praise by the jury for Enschede: "Resilience, creativity, and the will to co-operate are the most important ingredients of Enschede's success formula; thinking and acting together is the main motto. (...) The city centre put itself well on the map with a planned marketing and promotion strategy ..." (Platform Binnenstadsmanagement, 2005: 64, translation from Dutch by the author). Compared to 1999, the number of visitors has increased five per cent by 2005. According to the city centre monitor, more than 53,000 people visit the city centre on Saturdays. They rate the quality of their shopping experiences with a 7.4 (on a scale of 1 to 10 – Gemeente Enschede, 2006). According to expectations, the city centre will attract even more visitors once the Music Quarter is finished. The increased number of visitors has led to higher turnover; shopkeepers' sales have increased 19 per cent since 2000 (Gemeente Enschede, 2006). However, the redevelopment of the city centre has not been an unqualified success. Recently, the number of visitors appears to be decreasing (7% between 2004 and 2005). Although this is compensated by an increase in both the duration of and money spend during visits, this trend worries the local government, especially considering the large investments that have been made in the last decade (Gemeente Enschede, 2006).

#### 6.4.2 Oude Markt

The Oude Markt (old market) has developed over time as a natural meeting place from which all pedestrian roads in the city centre depart (Yücesoy, 2006). It was already visible on the first maps

*Table 6.8* Timeline of developments at the Oude Markt

Year	Developments
1200s	Origin of the Oude Markt as medieval market place
1980s	Transformation of the Oude Markt into a café square
1981	Redevelopment of the Oude Markt during which a row of lime trees was planted between the sidewalk cafés and the church to reroute motorised traffic
1996	Publication of the Binnenstadsboek, which announced the redevelopment of the so-called Stadserf, including the Oude Markt
1997	Appointment of a city centre project manager specifically responsible for the redevelopment of the Stadserf
1997-8	Discussions with local inhabitants and entrepreneurs in walking tours and information sessions on the required elements of the renewed Stadserf
1999	Selection of architect Sant & Co to make a new design for the Stadserf
2001	Move of the weekly market from the Van Heekplein to the Oude Markt to enable the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein
2003	Return of the weekly market to the Van Heekplein enabling the start of the redevelopment of the Oude Markt
2004	Redevelopment of the Oude Markt as centrepiece of the Stadserf
2005	Court decision against the implementation of special assessments as financial contribution to the redevelopment of public space

Source: based on Interviews (2006)



Figure 6.12 Oude Markt



Figure 6.13 Map of the Oude Markt

of Enschede, and can thus be regarded as a medieval square. The Oude Markt has a circular shape, with a large church (*Grote Kerk*) in the middle. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the square has gradually become the main cluster of cafés and restaurants in the city, visualised by the dominance of many sidewalk cafés. It can therefore be regarded as an archetypical café square. However, there are also a number of cultural facilities in its immediate surroundings including a theatre, cinema, and concert hall. Moreover, the square is regularly used for outdoor activities such as a second hand CD market, sport events, and concerts.

The Oude Markt was redesigned in 2004 within the framework of the Stadserf redevelopment, which included most of the historic city centre. The main goal was to assure that the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein would not negatively influence other historical parts of the city centre. Therefore, the municipality argued that the Stadserf also needed to be upgraded. This idea was strongly supported by the association of local entrepreneurs (FCE), who feared increased competition of the shops, cafés, and restaurants that would settle on the new Van Heekplein.

After the redevelopment plans were outlined in the 1996 handbook, the local government appointed a project manager specifically responsible for the upgrading of the Stadserf. His team focused on actively involving local inhabitants and entrepreneurs in the decision-making process through walking tours and large information sessions in 1997 and 1998. The discussions mainly focused on the design of the Stadserf. The local government selected landscape architecture agency Sant & Co to design the new Stadserf in 1999. OKRA, which was responsible for the new design of the Stationsplein and Van Heekplein, was not involved because it was already busy designing the Van Heekplein. Moreover, the local government favoured the idea that each public space would be allowed to have its own identity. Enschede therefore explicitly chose different designers of public space in the city centre, in contrast to Dordrecht where the main argument had been to create a sense of unity by using one single landscape architect (Section 6.3.1).

Sant & Co made a preliminary plan and presented it in April 2000 (Sant & Co, 2000). The plan suggested the use of red brick throughout the Stadserf, because this would best match the atmosphere and built environment of Enschede. To indicate the difference between pedestrian streets and traffic streets, the traffic streets would be equipped with so-called 'cart tracks' in the pavement. These cart tracks would also emphasise the egg-shape form of the city centre. The Oude Markt would be paved with brown brick to match with the yellow-brown colours of the church. The sidewalk cafés would be bounded by a strip along the cafés to visually separate them from the rest of the square and their unity improved with regard to furniture, awnings, wind shields, and so on (Figure 6.12). Sant & Co also proposed the removal of lime trees at the Oude Markt. During the last redevelopment in 1981, a row of lime trees was planted between the sidewalk cafés and the church to reroute motorised traffic. Later, when the city became increasingly traffic free, the trees became of no avail. Sant & Co's plan was to remove and replant them elsewhere in the city centre, in order to enhance the unity of the Oude Markt and to restore the view on the church. Local inhabitants strongly opposed the plan, because they regarded the lime trees as characteristic elements of the square.

The redevelopment of the Oude Markt was delayed by the simultaneous redevelopment of the Van Heekplein. The market, held twice a week on the Van Heekplein, needed to be temporarily relocated in order to build the underground parking garage and to repave the square. The local government had assigned the future Music Quarter as temporary location of

the market. However, the market association, supported by the federation of local entrepreneurs (FCE), opposed this location because they found it too remote. Eventually, the local government agreed to move the market to the Oude Markt, even though this would delay its redevelopment. The other squares and streets within the Stadserf were redeveloped one by one. When the market returned to the Van Heekplein in August 2003, the Oude Markt was redesigned in 2004 as centerpiece of the Stadserf renovation. Sant & Co's plans described above were implemented. In addition, the lighting of the square was enhanced: while the terraces and the church are illuminated softly, the square obtained 'calamity lighting' to be able to control possible disorder after the cafés close at night. For the same reason, a few cameras were placed at the Oude Markt in 2005. The design of the Stadserf was nominated for the landscape architecture price (*Omgevingsarchitectuurprijs*) in 2006. Although it did not win, the Oude Markt received a honourable mention of the jury, which praised the simplicity and uniformity of the design.

Enschede received European support to redevelop the Stadserf. Within the framework of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), Enschede and eight other Dutch cities obtained subsidies in order to finance economic and physical improvements in distressed urban neighbourhoods (Gemeente Enschede, 2003). Enschede spent the subsidies of 14,5 million euros on an old industrial area and the reconstruction of the neighbourhood that was partly destroyed during the firework disaster. Another part of the subsidy was directed to the redevelopment of the Stadserf. Although it was not particularly distressed, the local government argued that the redevelopment would improve Enschede's image as retail city and thus attract more visitors. This in turn might increase employment rates and decrease Enschede's economic backlog compared to other Dutch cities (Gemeente Enschede, 2003). The ERDF contribution to the upgrading of the Stadserf was 900,000 euros.

In addition, the association of local entrepreneurs (FCE) was willing to co-finance one-third of the total costs for the redevelopment of the Stadserf, which were estimated on 17 million euro. The local entrepreneurs insisted on contributing via special assessments (*baatbelasting* – see Section 4.4.1) rather than through direct payment via the FCE. This would also force non-FCE members (mostly chain and franchise stores) to contribute to the redevelopment. Enschede already had positive experiences with using tax payments to redevelop public space during the 1993 renovation of the Havenstraat passage, a side street of the Oude Markt. However, the contribution to the Stadserf has not become operative yet, because the municipality is in anticipation of legal judgments. In July 2005, the court decided in favour of the entrepreneurs from Breda, who appealed against their special assessments, and stated that shopkeepers do not have to pay tax contribution unless there is a crucial change in the design, nature or extent of their immediate surroundings (RND, 2007). Until today, it is unclear whether the local government of Enschede will receive the 5,9 million euro contribution of the local entrepreneurs, while the redevelopment costs have already been made.

### **6.4.3 Van Heekplein**

The Van Heekplein is located south of the historic city centre of Enschede and has always functioned as market place and parking lot. The square has never been deliberately designed. Part of it resulted from the bombing of Enschede in the Second World War. Because large parts of the city centre were damaged, the local government could easily construct a large four-lane road right through the city's core, called the Boulevard 1945. A small piece of land remained unused between the boulevard and the egg-shaped historic core. With the collapse of the

Table 6.9 Timeline of developments at the Van Heekplein

Year	Developments
1943-4	Several bombardments damaging parts of Enschede's city centre
1956	Construction of Boulevard 1945 through the city centre
1991	Co-operation agreement between the municipality and developer MAB to make a master plan for the Van Heekplein. The co-operation stagnated due to criticism of city centre retailers.
1995	First contact between the local government and Multi to discuss the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein. Multi's designer T+T made a plan for the Van Heekplein, but the municipality later preferred to co-operate with West 8
1997	Decision of Holland Casino to open an establishment in the city centre of Enschede, which accelerated the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein
1999	Urban design of the Van Heekplein formulated by the local government in co-operation with West 8 (Gemeente Enschede, 1999)
2000	Start reconstruction activities on the west side of the Van Heekplein
2001	Move of the weekly market from the Van Heekplein to the Oude Markt, construction of the casino, Bijenkorf, Twentec tower, and western part of the underground garage
2002	Demolition and rebuilding of shopping centre Klanderij, reconstruction of the V&D, and construction of the middle part of the garage
2003	Construction of the eastern part of the garage, redevelopment of the Van Heekplein (pavement and new 'square object'), return of the weekly market to the Van Heekplein
2004	Construction of kiosk on the Dagmarktstraat and the bus stop south of the Bijenkorf

Source: based on Gemeente Enschede (2004) and Interviews (2006)

textile industry, one of the mills located on the Van Heekplein was demolished, increasing the square even further. Another textile mill was converted into a shopping centre, called Klanderij. The Twentec-complex, which was constructed as textile world trade centre, had also become redundant. Its exchange building was converted into department store Vroom & Dreesmann. The Van Heekplein was never perceived as a nice public space. A publication of the foundation of landscape architects described the square as follows:

The construction of a four-lane road through the city cut the square off from the city centre, turning it into an isolated and unattractive place to visit. In recent years it had become merely a car park. It was no match to the more convivial atmosphere of the Oude Markt, with its cafés and church, the dynamic Stationsplein and the intimate atmosphere of the square in front of the town hall. The only highlight was the weekly market .... (LAE Foundation, 2006: 125, translation from Dutch by the author)

Although the Van Heekplein was not an attractive public space, it was an economically important location of the city. The market, held twice a week on the square, attracted visitors from the region and also the V&D and Klanderij were important assets to the retail function of the city. However, the Boulevard 1945 was regarded as being an important obstruction between the historic centre and the southern part of the city, including the V&D (see dotted lines in Figure 6.15). The Van Heekplein itself was also perceived as barrier, because of its inhospitable design. These barriers needed to be removed. Another problem was the primary conflict between the market and parking function of the Van Heekplein: parking was not possible on market days, while on these days the demand for parking space was most urgent. This conflict needed to be resolved. Moreover, as discussed above, the city wanted to transform its image from a dominant industrial city to a dominant retail city. This required an increase in the number of (large-scale)

retail stores. The Van Heekplein thus needed to be redeveloped in order to remove the barriers, to solve the parking problems, and to become a real retail square "... to achieve a city centre that is more suitable for contemporary consumerism ..." (Spierings, 2006: 149).

The interviews revealed that the initiative to redevelop the Van Heekplein clearly came from the side of the local government. However, it was obvious from the beginning that the municipality was not able to do the job alone, since the redevelopment also required large-scale investments in the surrounding property. The local government therefore contacted developer Multi in 1995. Multi closely co-operates with T+T Design, which also sketched the Beurstraverse in Rotterdam. On request of the local government, T+T Design made a new plan for the Van Heekplein. This design was used as input for the formulation of the 1996 city centre handbook.

The plans to redevelop the Van Heekplein accelerated when Holland Casino decided to open a new establishment in Enschede in 1997. The local government was very eager to attract the casino, since it was expected to give the city centre an economic impulse and distinguish Enschede from neighbouring cities Almelo and Hengelo. Holland Casino demanded a central location, preferably on the renewed Van Heekplein. However, the municipality feared that the closed façade of the casino (which usually have only limited entrances and windows) would not contribute to the liveliness of the Van Heekplein. It therefore commissioned architect Adriaan Geuze from West 8 Landscape Architects to make a design that would fit Holland Casino within the redevelopment plans. West 8 was selected because of its prior experience with redeveloping a large urban square, the Schouwburgplein (Section 6.2.2). It came with a new plan in 1999 that also consisted of elements of T+T's earlier plan (Gemeente Enschede, 1999). Figure 6.15 shows the plan and the designated location of Holland Casino; located closely to but not directly on the Van Heekplein.

West 8 also posed the idea to redirect the Boulevard 1945 along the rear of the V&D in order to make the square traffic free and to enable the northwards enlargement of the V&D. According to one of the informants, the local government decided to start with this rerouting to show its serious intentions and thus induce the private sector to also start investing in their property. Multi was asked to join the project to develop a new building on the west side of the square (next to the casino), which needed to give the large square sense of compactness. A further reduction of the square's size was impossible, because the weekly market – the largest market in the eastern part of the Netherlands – had to be accommodated. Multi was able to attract the Bijenkorf, one of the first established department stores in the country (see text box in Chapter 8), as main tenant. Again, the local government was pleased, as the relatively exclusive Bijenkorf would guarantee a redeveloped Van Heekplein of high standing. Multi also wanted to develop the other buildings surrounding the square, but the owners of the V&D, the Klanderij, and the Twentec tower were not interested in selling their property (Spierings, 2006). They renovated (V&D) or completely demolished and reconstructed (Klanderij and Twentec) the buildings themselves. Consequently, a large number of actors became involved in the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein area (see also Table 8.1). This required an important role of the local government as director of the whole process. Because it did not possess the necessary capacity for such a large-scale project, the local government hired consultancy agencies Twijnstra Gudde and DHV to assist in the project coordination, and appointed West 8 as supervisor of the redevelopment of both buildings and public space.



Figure 6.14 Van Heekplein

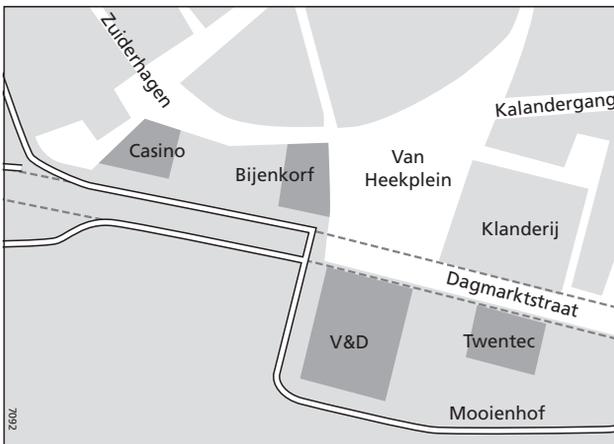


Figure 6.15 Map of the Van Heekplein. The dotted lines reflect the old Boulevard 1945.

After all actors were involved and contracted, the redevelopment could start in 2000. The first building activities involved the construction of a large underground parking garage with room for 1,700 cars and 1,050 bicycles. According to one of the involved actors, the construction of the garage was evident: the redeveloped square would not serve as parking space anymore and the increased number of shops would attract more visitors and lead to an increased need for parking space. Because of this awareness, the private sector was also willing to invest in the construction of the underground garage. The redevelopment started on the west side of the square, including the construction of the western part of the garage, the casino, and the Bijenkorf (Spierings, 2006). The latter became the first Bijenkorf in the Netherlands with housing units on the top floors. The tower was designed as landmark, but also to increase the housing supply in the city centre. The renewed V&D was also accommodated with housing units on the top floors. Like the V&D department store in Dordrecht, it was redesigned according to the city store formula with other shops on the ground floor of the V&D store, such as the Sting and Ici Paris XL. As a result, the department store decreased in size, despite an enlargement of the entire building. The first part of the Van Heekplein area reopened in 2002.

The second part of the new Van Heekplein opened in 2003, including a reconstructed Klanderij arcade and the Twentec shopping centre (Spierings, 2006). The eastern part of the garage was also completed, enabling the redevelopment of the public space. Landscape architect OKRA was responsible for its design. It wanted to create a square that would facilitate the market, but which would also be an attractive public space on non-market days (OKRA, 2001): "... even when the shops are closed and the market is gone, the Van Heekplein should still invite people to linger awhile ..." (LAE Foundation, 2006: 125). OKRA selected a light grey natural stone to pave the Van Heekplein, in which electricity hubs and hook-ups were integrated. The fringes are black-coloured to optically reduce the size of the square. To avoid untidiness and facilitate the market, the Van Heekplein only has a few fixed elements such as benches and garbage cans (Figure 6.14). There is also a sunken fountain integrated in the pavement on the south side of the square, which was designed to attract visitors and stretch their stay on the Van Heekplein (OKRA, 2001). Fifteen trees were planted on top of the garage. The main entrance to the garage was visualised by a so-called 'square object' designed by West 8. The entire redevelopment project was finished in 2004, when the bus stop and kiosks on the Dagmarkstraat were completed as well. Immediately after the return of the market on the Van Heekplein, it was elected as best market of 2003 by the association of merchants (CVAH). The square is also applauded in a publication by the Landscape Architect Europe Foundation, which admired the fact that the square attracts people even on non-market days (LAE Foundation, 2006).

## 6.5 's-Hertogenbosch

's-Hertogenbosch, located in the south of the Netherlands, has 134,717 inhabitants (on 01-01-2006: Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007). It obtained city rights in 1185 and grew swiftly, which led to the extension of the city walls in 1250 (Prak, 1997). Since then, the city centre's street pattern has remained largely intact. 's-Hertogenbosch was an important mercantile city in the Middle Ages, ranking second after Utrecht in the number of residents. The city was famous for its cattle markets, linen, and knives, but also had a religious connotation because of the presence of the Saint John's cathedral and several monasteries. From the 17th century onwards,

the development of the city stagnated and 's-Hertogenbosch gradually turned into an 'average' Dutch city unable to compete with cities such as Utrecht and Amsterdam (Prak, 1997).

### 6.5.1 Policy and structure in 's-Hertogenbosch

After the Second World War, the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch had become unattractive due to disinvestment. The local government lacked the required capital to restore the large number of monuments, the local watercourse Binnendieze, and the substantial war damage. Many people had moved to the post-war neighbourhoods at the edge of the city. By the 1960s, only 10 per cent of the total population lived in the city centre (Dona, 2004). To solve these problems and to be able to compete with other city centres, the municipality decided to set up a new structure plan (*Structuurplan*) in 1964, following the same CIAM ideology that persisted in Rotterdam and Dordrecht. The plan facilitated the city's accessibility by creating broad roads right to its centre and large parking spaces. The *Pijp* was a former working-class neighbourhood located north of the central market place (the Markt). It was in a pauperised state with many outdated houses. Built in the 18th and 19th century, it was regarded as being less valuable than the medieval parts of the city. Therefore, the demolition started in this area. It resulted in the widening of the Tolbrugstraat, the development of the Loeffplein, and the construction of a hospital (*Groot Ziekengasthuis* – GZG) and a police station. The demolished area was named *Tolbrugkwartier*. The local population furiously opposed the structure plan. Like in Dordrecht, it was soon realised that rehabilitating large parts of the city centre was not a good idea. The plans were stopped in 1969, and 's-Hertogenbosch has kept most of its fine-grained structure.

Another revitalisation impulse came about in the 1980s, because 's-Hertogenbosch encountered economic problems. Although it had never been a typical industrial city, some large factories had left the city, including De Gruyter, Michelin, and Remington Rant. The local

Table 6.10 Policies and changes in public space in the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch

Period	Year	Policies	Year	Changes in public space
1960s	1964	Structure plan ( <i>Structuurplan</i> ). Focus on the accessibility of the city centre		Demolition activities and construction of Loeffplein. Stopped in 1969
1970s				
1980s			1989	Opening Pettelaarpark
1990s	1992	Memorandum on revitalising public space in the centre resulting in:	1992	Start construction Paleiskwartier
	1993	City plan 'The Inner City Outside' ( <i>De Binnenstad Buiten</i> ). Focus on the design and redevelopment of public spaces in the city centre	1993	Redevelopment Kerkstraat/Kerkplein
			1995	Redevelopment Hinthamerstraat
			1998	Redevelopment Vughterstraat
			1998	Opening of Arena/Stoa and Loeffplein
			1998	<i>Redevelopment Stationsplein</i>
2000s			2001	Redevelopment Hooge Steenweg
			2008	<i>Redevelopment of Markt/Pensmarkt</i>
			2008	<i>Redevelopment of Parade</i>
			2010	<i>Redevelopment of GZG location</i>
2010s			2012	<i>Completion of Paleiskwartier</i>

Source: based on Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch (1993) and Interviews (2006). NB. Indicated years refer to the completion of the redevelopment project; the actual redevelopment process often started earlier. Changes in public space after 2007 are indicated in italics, as the proposed years of completion might be subject to change.

government realised it needed to promote service and commerce as main economic sectors. It set up three priorities to turn the tide (Dona, 2004: 95):

1. Modernisation of the business policy by creating business parks
2. Large-scale urban redevelopment projects: Paleiskwartier and Tolbrugkwartier
3. Revitalisation of the city centre

The development of business park *Pettelaarpark* in 1989 aimed to achieve the first ambition. It was not only one of the first business parks of the city, but also one in which the public and private sector closely co-operated. The second priority concerned the redevelopment of an old industrial area west of the train station. Since 1992, the local government and private sector have been redeveloping the site into a new city centre called *Paleiskwartier* with 1,400 houses, 180,000m<sup>2</sup> office space and 30,000m<sup>2</sup> for shops, cafés, restaurants, and cultural functions. The project will be completed in 2012 (Bruil et al., 2004). Another large-scale urban redevelopment project is the above-mentioned Tolbrugkwartier. The GZG hospital and police station built after the demolition turned out to attract too much traffic to the centre and did not fit within the historical structure of the city. They needed to be relocated in order to extend the city centre northwards. The police station was moved in the 1990s, enabling the construction of shopping centre Arena (at its former site) and the redevelopment of the Loeffplein in 1998, as will be discussed in Section 6.5.3. The GZG will move in the coming years. After the hospital is relocated, the start of the redevelopment is scheduled for 2010. The new complex will include a library, retail, and housing connected by redeveloped public space.

The third priority was to revitalise the city centre by restoring monuments, promoting cafés and restaurants, expanding retail space, stimulating the housing function of the city centre, and investing in cultural facilities such as museums and theatres (Dona, 2004). In addition, the local government wanted to redevelop the public spaces in the city centre. The first proposals were introduced in a memorandum, which circulated among many interested parties and residents



Figure 6.16 Map of the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch

in 1992. This resulted in the formulation of the policy plan called *Binnenstad Buiten* (Inner City Outside). The plan – developed by the local government in co-operation with design company Bureau B+B – was adopted in 1993 (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). It aimed to strengthen the meeting function of the city centre by making public space more attractive. The existing pavement, street furniture, and lighting had been neglected too long. Too many objects, such as poles, billboards, traffic signs, bicycle racks, and bottle banks cluttered the streets and squares. Moreover, public space suffered from heavy motorised traffic. The plan included detailed improvements from management changes (e.g., more surveillance and maintenance) to changes in the design of public space. It specifically addressed the use of paving materials in different areas of the city. The plan also indicated that the redevelopment of public space should start with the city's three main roads (the Hinthamerstraat, Hooge Steenweg, and Vughterstraat) and end with the redevelopment of the Markt. The policy plan did not have a detailed timeline, but was rather set up as a gradual step-by-step approach (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). The local government did this to make sure the city would remain accessible. Moreover, by gradually redeveloping the city, the costs would be spread as well as the risk of too much uniformity in the city centre.

After the 1993 plan was formulated, a delegation of representatives of the local government, developer Multi, and a number of local entrepreneurs went to Barcelona to find an architect for the redevelopment of the city centre. Beth Galí was selected to do the job. She was director of architecture, landscape and design office BB+GG Arquitectes in Barcelona, and was responsible for the design of a number of public spaces in that city. Galí's first project in 's-Hertogenbosch was the redevelopment of the Kerkplein. The square was paved with granite placed on a layer of concrete. This way, the Mediterranean stones would not easily move or break. The outcome was praised, but the costs were over three times the regular amount per square metre. The Hinthamerstraat was redeveloped next, also after a design of Beth Galí but without the expensive concrete foundation. The stones broke quickly and the Hinthamerstraat soon needed to be refurbished again. Some people blamed Galí for this inferior outcome. Although the Loeffplein – which she also designed – was carried out well, the antipathy to Galí's work grew among local residents and the city council. The co-operation was gradually reduced. During the redevelopment of the Vughterstraat, Galí only acted as supervisor for the municipal designers. After that, the local government designed the new Hooge Steenweg itself. Municipal designers were also responsible for the blueprint of the current redevelopment of the Markt (Section 6.5.2).

With the expected completion of the Markt in November 2008, the redevelopment of the city centre is approaching the end. It has had positive results. The Platform City Centre Management selected it as the best city centre of 2003 (Platform Binnenstadsmanagement, 2005). More recently, 's-Hertogenbosch came second after Maastricht in a ranking of 32 Dutch city centres based on their performance in five sectors (business and financial services, public management, culture, retail, cafés and restaurants – Van Leeuwen, 2006). Nearly five million people visit the city for a daytrip, which puts 's-Hertogenbosch in the top 5 of Dutch cities (Platform Binnenstadsmanagement, 2005). Like Enschede, 's-Hertogenbosch is experiencing a diminishing frequency of visits, which is compensated by an increase of time spend during a visit. Residents on average stay two hours when visiting the city centre, compared to 1,5 in 2000. Non-residents stay three hours (versus two hours in 2000 – Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2004). According to data from the 2004 city centre monitor, 47 per cent of the visitors come to funshop

compared to 36 per cent in 2000. The retail function of the city thus appears to become more important. At the same time, the impulse of the Arena's completion – which led to a peak in sales in 2000 – seems to fade away (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2004). This trend might be reversed when the last big projects in the city are also completed. First in line is the Markt, followed by the redevelopment of the remainder of the Tolbrugkwartier (see above). Another future project is the redevelopment of the Parade, which is probably 's-Hertogenbosch's most famous public space. The Parade is an example of a *parvis*; a medieval city square that has served as forecourt of the large Saint John's cathedral, which was built in the 12th century. In 1748 the city's administrators decided to turn the square into a parade ground. The square was paved, lime trees were planted, and two horse stables were constructed. There have been few changes in the design of the square since, but its function altered in the 20th century when the Parade was turned into a parking space. This parking function has been contested for years, but the retailers in the city centre repeatedly thwarted the plans to make the square car-free, because they feared their shops would become less accessible. Currently, the municipality is looking for alternative parking locations and making plans to redevelop the Parade in 2008 (Schreuder, 2007b).

### 6.5.2 Markt

The first accounts of the Markt and Pensmarkt date from 1279. Instead of being two separate squares, they can best be regarded as a single public space with a central structure in the middle, or a dominated square in terms of Zucker's typology (Section 2.6). When we refer to the Markt,

*Table 6.11* Timeline of developments at the Markt

Year	Developments
1200s	Origin of the Markt as medieval market place
1897	First redevelopment
1953	Second redevelopment resulting in the separation of the Markt and Pensmarkt. The Pensmarkt was turned into a roadway, while the Markt became a parking lot paved with concrete tiles. These developments were implemented to make the city centre more accessible.
1966	Third redevelopment during which the Pensmarkt was reconnected to the Markt by closing it completely to motorised traffic and repaving it with the same concrete tiles used at the Markt. No buildings were demolished.
1979	Fourth redevelopment. Cars were removed from the Markt and it was repaved with natural stones. New lighting was used in the form of historic lampposts.
1998	Proposed year of fifth redevelopment according to the 1993 policy plan. Due to several causes, the redevelopment was delayed.
2002	Consultations with local inhabitants and entrepreneurs about the future principles of the Markt ('Conversations around the Markt')
2005	Agreement among the city council about the main principles of the Markt's redevelopment. After this decision, municipal architects started to make designs for the Markt.
2006	Consultations with local inhabitants and entrepreneurs about the new designs.
2007	Proposed year of fifth redevelopment, but problems arose concerning the tender procedure. As a result, the start of redevelopment activities was postponed from February to the end of the summer. The construction activities must stop from November 2007 to spring 2008 to not hamper shopping and celebration activities for Christmas and carnival.
2008	Expected completion of the redevelopment project

Source: based on Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch (2006) and Interviews (2006)



Figure 6.17 Markt



Figure 6.18 Map of the Markt

this therefore also includes the Pensmarkt. It was always used as venue of annual fairs and to sell fruit, vegetables, butter, poultry, and textile (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2006). Today, it is surrounded by shops and still hosts a small daily and large weekly market, which makes it a typical retail square. The first 500 years of its existence, the Markt altered only little in design and function. However, changes occurred swiftly in the last century with redevelopment projects in 1897, 1953, 1966, and 1979 (see Table 6.11). During the 1953 redevelopment, the squares became separated from each other. To improve the city centre's accessibility the Pensmarkt was transformed into a road and the Markt became a parking lot. This situation changed again in 1966 when the Pensmarkt was turned into a pedestrian area and reconnected to the Markt. Cars were removed from the Markt during the last redevelopment in 1979.

Over the years, the Markt became neglected. Because of its intensive use as market place, the square needed repair frequently, which resulted in a patchwork pavement. The situation on the Pensmarkt was even worse, since the public space had not been repaved since 1966. The unity between the two squares was also lacking. The 1993 policy plan therefore proposed to redevelop the Markt in 1998 after all public space in its vicinity would have been upgraded (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). In reality, the process took much longer. One of the reasons is the anti-Galí sentiment that arose at the end of the 1990s. Although the Spanish landscape architect was praised for her designs for the Kerkstraat and Loeffplein (see next section), she was also blamed for the badly designed Hinthamerstraat. Neither the residents nor the city council wanted her to redesign the Markt.

In the new millennium, the ideas to redevelop the Markt resurrected. The local government had decided to make its own design and also wanted to involve the local residents and entrepreneurs in the decision-making process. With newsletters and announcements in the local paper, citizens were called to a meeting called 'Conversations around the Markt' (*Gesprekken rond de Markt*). The meeting was organised in December 2002. It resulted in the formulation of a number of design requirements, including good lighting and accessibility, the incorporation of electricity and hook-ups in the paving, and the removal of all obstacles (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2006). These requirements were subsequently discussed by the city council, which started to doubt the necessity of redeveloping the Markt. The city needed to make budget cuts due to the economic recession. Opponents stated that the current condition of the Markt was not very bad and suggested a large maintenance operation instead of a complete redevelopment. The proposal was turned down, because the mayor was afraid this would only worsen the patchwork-like pavement. Moreover, the estimated maintenance costs (of 3.3 million euro) would only save 800,000 euro compared to the 4.1 million euro of complete redevelopment (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2006). Finally, the city council accepted the design requirements derived from conversations with local inhabitants and entrepreneurs in September 2005.

After this decision, municipal designers could start to make a new plan for the Markt. They proposed a dark grey granite pavement in a circle around both the Markt and Pensmarkt to unite the two squares. The sidewalk surrounding the circle was designed with similar materials used in the three main streets to enhance the connection between the Markt and its surroundings (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 2006). The plan was presented to the public during an information meeting in February 2006. There was little disagreement concerning the design, except for the planned route of the bus. The city council had decided that the bus needed to be rerouted through the Pensmarkt to shorten its current route over the Markt. The merchants opposed the plan, because it would limit the number of market stalls and would turn the Pensmarkt into a

roadway. After an investigation of the possible consequences, it was decided to remove the bus route completely from the Markt. With no opposition left, the redevelopment activities could start after the carnival festivities in February 2007 (Brabants Dagblad, 2006).

But again the project was delayed. The local government became involved in a lawsuit with two contractors concerning the tender procedure. According to one of our informants, the possible candidates for supplying the paving materials felt they were excluded from the procedure or that they had too little time to prepare the bid. This forced the local government to start a new tender procedure; otherwise it would run the risk to end up with twice the needed stones. Consequently, the redevelopment could not start in February 2007, but only in October 2007. Because the process was stopped from November 2007 to March 2008 to not interfere with shopping and celebration activities for Christmas and carnival, the redevelopment is not expected to be finished before November 2008; ten years later than indicated in the initial policy plan of 1993 (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993).

### 6.5.3 Loeffplein

The Loeffplein is a retail square in the middle of 's-Hertogenbosch close to the Markt. Its official name is Burgemeester (Dutch for mayor) Loeffplein. The origin of the Loeffplein is comparable to the development of the Statenplein in Dordrecht (Section 6.3.3). It resulted from similar demolition activities in the 1960s, which were carried out within the framework of the 1964 structure plan (*Structuurplan*). The plan led to the demolition of the working-class neighbourhood the Pijp, located north of the Markt. In return, a new hospital and police station were built and the Loeffplein was created. Due to fierce opposition, the demolition activities stopped in 1969, which has preserved most of the fine-grained structure of the city centre. For the Loeffplein the sudden stop was less positive, because it was never really finished. It remained a strange open site – used as parking space and surrounded by a few shops – of what should have become a large city square according to the structure plan. One of our informants argued that this incompleteness was the main reason why the Loeffplein needed to be redeveloped in the 1990s. The direct cause was the planned relocation of the police station and the hospital to more appropriate and larger sites outside the city centre. This would create extra open space at the Loeffplein, whereas the main aim of the local government was to recover the fine-grained

Table 6.12 Timeline of developments at the Loeffplein

Year	Developments
1964	Publication of the structure plan and start of demolition activities of the Pijp, a former working-class neighbourhood.
1969	Construction of the hospital (GZG) and police station in the new area named Tolbrugkwartier. The Loeffplein came into being as the central square of this area. Due to fierce opposition the remaining demolition activities were stopped.
1993	Start of the Centre Management including the municipality, Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch, Fortis bank, and the merchant association
1996	Start of construction activities Arena/Stoa
1998	Opening of the Arena/Stoa and Loeffplein
2001	Opening of the Esplanade

Source: based on Bastion Oranje (2006) and Interviews (2006)



Figure 6.19 Loeffplein



Figure 6.20 Map of the Loeffplein

structure of the city. Therefore, a new function needed to be found for the site of the police station and the Loeffplein.

The initiative to redevelop the Loeffplein came from the side of the local government. However, the association of local entrepreneurs, called Heart of's-Hertogenbosch (*Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch*), claim to be the first to call for an upgrading of the city centre. Together with the merchant association and the Fortis Bank, which is active as investor of a large share of the retail property in the city, they set up a so-called Centre Management in 1993. This organisation aimed to improve the economic functioning and attractiveness of the city centre. The redevelopment of the Loeffplein would contribute to this aim. The association of local entrepreneurs hired a local architect to make a design for the Loeffplein and surrounding area. It was never implemented, because the local government did not think it would fit within the historical structure of the city. However, the initiative improved the relation between the municipality and the Centre Management as partners in the redevelopment of the city centre.

The idea of the local government and the Centre Management was to build a new retail complex on the former site of the police station. The Loeffplein itself and the Marktstraat would also have to be upgraded to induce people to walk from the Markt to the new retail complex. Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch was afraid the retail expansion at the Loeffplein would negatively affect other shopkeepers in the city and argued for the simultaneous renovation of the other shopping streets. The association also demanded that all new shopkeepers at the Loeffplein should become a member of its association to avoid the so-called free riders problem. In return, it would settle the objections to the plan.

Another partner in the redevelopment process was insurance company Nationale Nederlanden, which already owned the Tolbrug parking garage on the east side of the Loeffplein and a small number of shops located in front of it. Nationale Nederlanden was also interested in becoming the investor of the new retail complex. It proposed Multi as possible developer. T+T became responsible for the new design of the Loeffplein and surroundings. The new retail complex was named *Arena* and was designed as an outdoor shopping centre with apartments on the upper floors. The retail concentration needed to be of substantial size to attract many visitors. T+T's design offered 6,500m<sup>2</sup> of retail space (Bastion Oranje, 2006). A new parking garage was planned underneath the Arena to complement the existing Tolbrugparking garage. The latter would also be upgraded and camouflaged by a new façade of shops called the *Stoa*. The Loeffplein would be redesigned with similar materials being used at the Arena to bring about a sense of unity. For its design reference was made to an enclosed shopping centre in Eindhoven, the *Heuvel Galerie*, which was opened in 1995. It served as both best and worse case: the Arena should have a similar allure and quality of materials, but not have a closed façade (ironically, the Arena later served as worse case example for the construction of the new retail building on the Statenplein in Dordrecht because of its closed-off image on the outside).

When T+T's plan was finished, representatives of the local government, Centre Management, Nationale Nederlanden, and Multi went to Barcelona to find an architect to design the Arena. Beth Galí, who was already involved in upgrading parts of the city centre, recommended the Spanish architect Oscar Tusquets. He was selected to design the Arena. His plan was to create an outdoor shopping centre (partly covered but without a real ceiling) with a sunken plaza and a gallery on the ground floor, both containing shops. The Arena would have multiple entrances to connect it to the other parts of the city centre. Galí herself was appointed to design both the

Loeffplein and the Stoa (Figure 6.19). She proposed limited street furniture, with only a large number of bike racks and no benches. At the southern side of the square, a plateau was planned, where visitors could sit and watch other people.

After a reconstruction period of two years, the Arena, Stoa, and redeveloped Loeffplein were officially opened in April 1998. This was according to the schedule of the 1993 policy plan (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). The total investments were 50 million euro (Bastion Oranje, 2006). Multi also wanted to redevelop the west and south side of the Loeffplein, but its bid was unsuccessful. Pension fund ABP owned the building on the west side of the square. It was not willing to sell the property to Multi or to co-operate, even though ABP was offered an extension of its property. It also refused to renovate its façade because of the high costs involved. The owner of the building on the south side of the Loeffplein was also unwilling to co-operate at first. Only after the reopening of the Loeffplein in 1998, Multi was able to acquire and redevelop the property. The new construction, named *Esplanade*, hosts a bank and a number of shops, and apartments on the upper floors. It was opened in 2001 and is now owned by pension fund Relan.

The upgrading of the Marktstraat was the last part of the total redevelopment plan. The problem of acquiring property was even bigger here because of the multiple property owners involved. The façade of the Marktstraat could therefore not be renovated. The street itself has also not been repaved, because the local government planned to do this after the redevelopment of the Markt. The Marktstraat and part of the Loeffplein would serve as route for the supply of building materials. However, as the redevelopment of the Markt has been postponed (see previous section), the Marktstraat has still not been renovated. The redevelopment of the Loeffplein is thus not completely finished yet. This situation will probably not change until the remainder of the Tolbrugkwartier is also redeveloped, starting from 2010 onwards.

## 6.6 Conclusions

Our research objects have been selected on the basis of certain criteria discussed in Section 5.2.2. As such, they have a number of similarities; they are all located in the centre of a medium to large Dutch city and have recently been redeveloped. Additionally, this chapter revealed that there are other resemblances between our cases in terms of their urban policies and spatial structures. All four researched cities have a medieval origin and used to have a fine-grained spatial structure. However, this has changed to a lesser or larger extent in the 20th century. Both Rotterdam's and Enschede's city centre were severely damaged by WWII-bombings, while the spatial structure of Dordrecht and 's-Hertogenbosch suffered from large-scale demolition activities in the 1960s. The public spaces that resulted from these bombings and demolitions never functioned properly. They were often perceived as being too spacious, uninviting, and badly maintained. Overall, public space was largely neglected in the second half of the 20th century. This especially seems to have negatively affected these new spaces, such as the Statenplein in Dordrecht and the Van Heekplein in Enschede.

The direct goal of the discussed urban policies was to alter this situation. Crime problems were seldom mentioned as causes of urban renewal (see also Section 7.6). The redevelopment policies were rather aimed at improving the neglected and congested state of public spaces in the city centre. This fits the notion of a local government responsible for the provision of local welfare services and public goods (Section 4.3.1). However, by doing so, the local authorities also

wanted to promote their cities. Most of the interviewed public-sector representatives stated that they aimed to improve the competitive position of their city by upgrading urban public space and implementing other city marketing strategies. Therefore, the cases also show characteristics of a typical entrepreneurial city, as discussed in Section 4.2.2.

Rotterdam can be qualified as entrepreneurial city because it has a highly active local government that has borne the main risks in brokering a range of entrepreneurial projects. The city has advertised itself by hosting many events and becoming City of Architecture in 2007. Its policy has helped to establish retail developments such as the construction of the Beurstraverse and to promote a cultural cluster at the Schouwburgplein. The interviews revealed that the redevelopment projects of the 1990s were mainly aimed at creating public spaces as showcases by using a mixture of distinctive design schemes, like the hoisting cranes at the Schouwburgplein. By making both architecture and public space appealing, the city hoped to distinguish itself among other large Dutch cities. Its current urban policy is mainly directed to renewing public space to make Rotterdam a more attractive residential city.

The other cases show similar entrepreneurial characteristics. Dordrecht experienced a decrease in the number of people visiting its city centre in the 1990s. It had lost its attraction as main centre of the region. Residents of neighbouring towns such as Papendrecht preferred to go to Rotterdam and Breda to do their shopping. To improve its competitive position, Dordrecht had to redevelop its city centre thoroughly and promote itself as city of retail and events. It seems to have been successful: the numbers of visitors have increased and it has been selected as city of events in 2003. Enschede's policy is similar in aim and content. According to our informants, the improvement of the city's competitive position was the main goal of redeveloping the Van Heekplein and Stadserf. The city also had to deal with diminishing numbers of visitors due to competition of neighbouring cities such as Hengelo and Almelo, and Münster and Gronau in Germany. Some of these cities had upgraded their centres and became attractive retail destinations. Enschede wanted to re-establish its number-one position in the cross-border region. 's-Hertogenbosch aimed to improve public space as social meeting point by making it hospitable, well designed, and safe. However, its redevelopment policy also acknowledged the function of public space as economic generator and image-booster: "Together with the 'walls' they [*public spaces*] determine the atmosphere, image and liveliness of the city centre. The city centre is like a business card and determines the image of the city to a large extent ..." (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993: 12, translation from Dutch by the author).

Some commentators of redevelopment policies find that they are too much territorially focused. Urbanist Christine Boyer, for example, stated that: "I am very critical about the beautification of certain parts in the city without looking at the locations in between ...". (In interview with Tan, 2006: 114). However, the urban policies of our cases show that redevelopment is not limited to the research objects only. The four cities have rather applied a comprehensive policy approach; redeveloping the city centre as a whole rather than only particular showcases. Their approach is characterised by the use of similar materials throughout the city to create a coherent entity, give it identity, to ease the visitor's orientation, and to show that the whole city centre is important rather than only its so-called 'pearls'. In addition, the use of similar designs and materials avoids high construction costs and possible difficulties of managing different kinds of public spaces. Dordrecht scheduled the redevelopment of most of its historic core within a time span of only five years (although in reality the process took longer due to air quality legislation and fiscal

problems). In addition, it appointed one single landscape architect to design most of the redeveloped public spaces. Enschede redeveloped its entire city centre within a short period of time as well, but selected different designers and developers to give each public space a different identity. 's-Hertogenbosch's policy plan also served as blueprint for the redevelopment of the entire city centre, but the level of coherence between public spaces is less distinct because the redevelopment process has become rather lengthy. This also applies to Rotterdam. Although the city had formulated a coherent policy to redevelop its city centre, its implementation can rather be defined as 'urban acupuncture' (Meyer et al., 2006: 214). The different redevelopment projects (e.g., the Schouwburgplein, Beurstraverse, and Binnenrotte) are each quite distinct in terms of design and use of materials.

The level of coherence among the redeveloped spaces thus differs among the researched cities, but each has attempted to redevelop the city centre as a coherent system of streets and squares rather than focusing on showcases only. According to Meyer et al. (2006), this is a general trend in the Netherlands, which has become more dominant since The Hague was the first to redevelop its city centre in a comprehensive manner in the 1990s (Section 1.1). Such a comprehensive approach requires a high level of involvement of the local government because it has to make sure the intended policy and design are retained throughout the redevelopment process by means of strict supervision.

The cases reveal a shift in urban politics beyond the management of public services and the provision of local welfare services to the promotion of economic competitiveness and place marketing. In addition, they can be regarded entrepreneurial because an increasing amount of urban economic activity within the cities is undertaken by or in co-operation with the private sector. Developer Multi was involved in the redevelopment of four out of eight research objects. Other private-sector representatives include the ING Bank, Fortis Bank, Foruminvest, and VendexKBB, who all contributed to a greater or lesser extent to the redevelopment of the research objects. Chapter 8 discusses their involvement and its effects on public space in more detail. The next chapter first examines if the research objects can be seen as secured or themed public space. Do measures to secure public space dominate, such as CCTV and strict regulation, or are they rather characterised by themed dimensions including the presence of events and sidewalk cafés?



## 7 Fear and fantasy in the cases

### 7.1 Introduction

Public spaces in Dutch city centres are increasingly affected by measures to reduce feelings of *fear* on the one hand, and by a focus on *fantasy* on the other hand. This is the main conclusion of Chapter 3 based on current discourses in academic literature. To find out to what extent fear and fantasy are manifest in the cases, the two concepts need to be operationalised and visualised. For this purpose, an analytical tool in the form of six-dimensional diagrams was developed and introduced in Section 5.4. The next sections describe the level of fear and fantasy in the public spaces of the case-study cities by depicting these trends in six-dimensional diagrams. Each research object has its own diagram. Section 7.6 brings all diagrams together in order to compare the projects and to detect patterns between the intensities of secured and themed dimensions and the level of private-sector involvement.

### 7.2 Fear and fantasy in Rotterdam

In their article named *Public space on a slippery slope*, Van Aalst and Bergenhenegouwen (2003, title translated from Dutch by the author) conclude that the Beurstraverse has been transformed into a *counter locale*, a term coined by sociologist Lyn Lofland (1998) to refer to public space becoming more private due to surveillance, strict regulation, and private security. They base their argument on the fact that the Beurstraverse is monitored by many cameras and subject to strict regulation. Does this imply that the Beurstraverse can be classified as secured public space?

When applying the six-dimensional diagrams to public spaces in Rotterdam it appears that the Schouwburgplein and Beurstraverse show very different profiles. Figure 7.1 indicates that the Schouwburgplein can be considered a themed public space, because the coverage is more complete in the lower part of the circle than in the upper part. Its ratings on secured dimensions are relatively low. Previously two cameras scanned the area, but they have been removed. The area cannot be closed off and there are comfortable designer benches to lounge on. Therefore, it has a low intensity regarding 'restraints on loitering'. The Schouwburgplein gets a medium rating on the dimension 'regulation'. Since the summer of 2004, the square has served as a test case for co-operation between civil security guards (in Dutch called *stadswacht*), the police, and private security companies. In December 2004, this experiment was deemed a success and this format of safety management has been extended to other public spaces in Rotterdam (Rotterdams Dagblad, 2004). Since, the Schouwburgplein is subject to the regular local ordinance, yet supervised by private security guards in co-operation with the local police.

With regard to the themed dimensions, the Schouwburgplein shows higher intensities. It is one of eight locations for large-scale events in Rotterdam. The square is regularly used as a venue for concerts, outdoor film screenings, and other events. Its design has been altered to

accommodate this public function: the pavement now contains more than 25 electricity hook-ups as well as embedded metal hooks to secure objects. As described in Section 6.2.2, the Schouwborgplein is surrounded by the cinema, the municipal theatre, music and convention centre De Doelen, and several shops. The majority can be classified as ‘fun’ shops, selling fashion, gadgets, and jewellery. Seven restaurants and cafés occupy the ground floors of the remaining buildings. They all operate outdoor terraces, but altogether the amount of space they occupy is less than five per cent of the total surface of the Schouwborgplein. The rating of the Schouwborgplein on the dimension ‘sidewalk cafés’ is therefore medium, whereas it rates high on the dimensions ‘events’ and ‘fun shopping’.

As expected, the Beurstraverse can indeed be seen as a secured public space since the coverage in the upper half of the circle is larger than the coverage in the lower part. Surveillance by means of CCTV is very intense here; the management has installed no less than 68 cameras. The only street furniture present in the Beurstraverse consists of a few trash bins; there are no benches or ledges to sit on. The rationale is that seating would distract customers from shopping and might encourage loitering, which could spoil the shopping experience. Moreover, the Beurstraverse is partially closed off at nights; the area underneath the Coolingsingel is closed for the public when the metro stops running. Therefore, the Beurstraverse has a high intensity on the dimension ‘restraints on loitering’. It gets a medium rating on the ‘regulation’ dimension. Skating, cycling, and photography are not allowed in the Beurstraverse. The public is not always aware of all these rules. When vendors of homeless newspapers first appeared, they were swiftly removed (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). The main ‘house’ rules were listed at the entrance (see also Figure 8.1). Despite these strict regulations, the private security guards must depend on police backup; law and order in the Beurstraverse falls under the municipal police ordinance that applies to the entire city centre. The strict regulation seems to enhance feelings of security among the shoppers: 84 per cent of the visitors are (very) positive about the level of safety during the daytime (Van Aalst & Ennen, 2001).

With respect to the themed dimensions, the intensities for the Beurstraverse are low except for the dimension of ‘fun shopping’. This particular public space hosts no special events at all; buskers are not allowed in the area, let alone large-scale performances. Nor are there any sidewalk

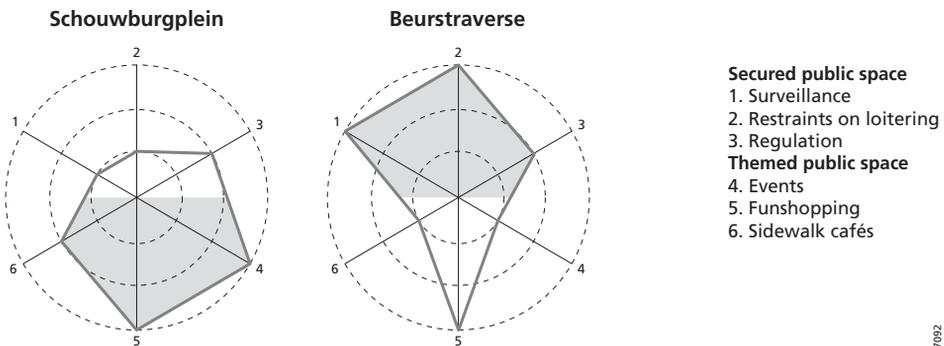


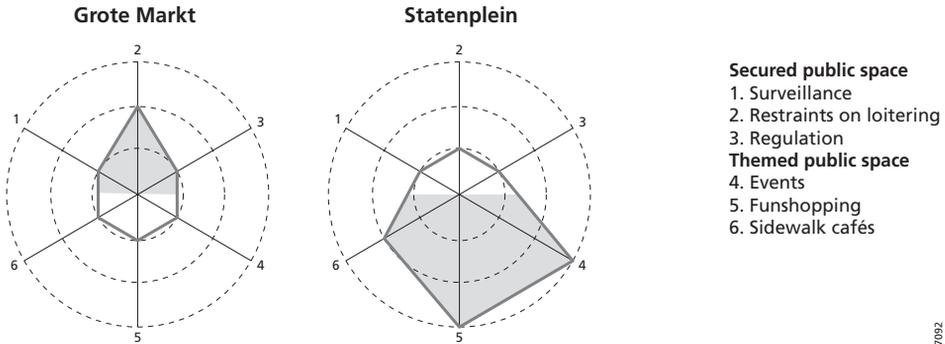
Figure 7.1 Six-dimensional profiles of the Schouwborgplein and Beurstraverse as secured (upper half) or themed (lower half) public space

cafés. The members of the consortium have deliberately kept events, restaurants, and cafés out of the underpass, fearing they would attract loitering youths as well as undesired activities at night. But they also found it inappropriate to mix business and pleasure – in this case, shops and restaurants – as these are different spheres of activity (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). In contrast to the low rating on the other themed dimensions, the Beurstraverse has a high intensity on ‘fun shopping’. This refers to the large number of luxury shops, among these many renowned fashion stores, jewellers, and cosmetics chains.

How can the outcome of Figure 7.1 be explained? Because it is located in the middle of the city centre and forms a linkage between two shopping precincts, the Beurstraverse has to deal with large pedestrian flows (as described in Section 6.2.3, more than 81,700 visitors per hour on Saturdays). The shops in the Beurstraverse are of high quality, which might attract undesired shoplifters. The shops are closed in the evening, leaving the Beurstraverse relatively unattended. It is privately owned, which enables an increase in regulation in addition to the regular local ordinance to deal with these problems. Rotterdam has to deal with relatively high crime rates. Although the municipal safety index (based on an annual survey among 13,000 residents) shows that the city has become safer in the last years (Van Rhee et al., 2005; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007c), Rotterdam still had the lowest position in a 2007 safety ranking of the 50 largest Dutch cities (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007). Security measures to improve safety in the Beurstraverse thus seem inevitable. The same arguments (i.e., central location, large pedestrian flows, high crime rates) also apply to the Schouwburgplein, but do not lead to a high level of security. The research by Van Aalst and Ennen (2002) has shown that safety at night is in fact a feature the Schouwburgplein scores well on. This can be explained by the presence of the theatre and cinema, which mostly draw visitors in the evening; in contrast to the Beurstraverse, which is underused after the shops close. The Schouwburgplein has been consciously redeveloped to enhance a cultural cluster (see Section 6.2.1). This is not only expressed in the construction of the new cinema, but also in the organisation and facilitation of events. The Schouwburgplein particularly scores well on these issues, turning it into a themed public space. In this respect, the Schouwburgplein’s diagram can be regarded as an intended outcome of the 1985 municipal policy to create a cultural cluster.

### 7.3 Fear and fantasy in Dordrecht

We have created similar diagrams to illustrate the intensity of fear and fantasy in the public spaces of Dordrecht. Figure 7.2 depicts that the Grote Markt and Statenplein show great contrast in their ratings on the six different dimensions. The Grote Markt is an example of a city square that cannot easily be categorised as a secured or themed space. It has no benches and the area cannot be closed off by means of fences (although part of its space is only accessible when paying parking fees). Therefore, the square rates medium on ‘restraints on loitering’. With respect to the other five dimensions, the Grote Markt has low intensities. There is no camera surveillance and only the regular local ordinance is applicable to the area. There is only one small sidewalk café on the Grote Markt and events are rare, mostly to prevent noise nuisance for the local residents. There are two shops (i.e., a video and discount store), but these constitute less than 50 per cent of total surrounding property, which mostly consist of housing. This percentage used to be higher,



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Figure 7.2 Six-dimensional profiles of the Grote Markt and Statenplein as secured (upper half) or themed (lower half) public space

but a number of shops closed their doors after the weekly market moved to the Statenplein and the number of people visiting the Grote Markt decreased (Section 6.3.2).

The diagram of the Statenplein shows a different pattern: with low ratings on secured dimensions and high on themed ones, the square can be seen as a themed public space. The square especially shows high ratings with respect to events and funshopping. Dordrecht is known for its many events and was selected City of Events in 2003. A number of these events take place on the Statenplein such as inline skate and street basketball tournaments. These events are facilitated by electricity hook-ups in the square's pavement, which are also used for the market that is held on Fridays and Saturdays. With respect to funshopping the Statenplein also has a high intensity, which is the result of the many shops that surround the square. Most of the shops have a dominant 'fun' nature and sell discretionary shopping goods such as clothing and toys. The sidewalk cafés – mainly on the northeastern side of the Statenplein – are small in size and number. The reason for this is that cafés and restaurants are clustered around the nearby Scheffersplein, which was designated as café square in the 1996 business plan. The Statenplein was allowed to only have a limited amount of sidewalk cafés because the chairs and tables would hamper the market stalls.

With respect to the three secured dimensions, the Statenplein has low ratings. Camera surveillance in Dordrecht is limited to permanent CCTV in and around the train station (AD, 2003), and tests with moveable CCTV in the city centre. There are thus no permanent cameras posted on the Statenplein. The area is supplied with street furniture such as benches and garbage bins. It cannot be closed off except for the southeastern corner of Nieuwe Blok, which includes a small underpass that leads pedestrians directly from the Statenplein to the entrance of the shopping centre Drievriendenhof. It is closed off to prevent people from loitering there at night. The Statenplein is subject to the general local ordinance.

Figure 7.2 shows that fear and fantasy are hardly applicable to the Grote Markt, as the square rates low on five of the six dimensions. Secured and themed public spaces were introduced in Chapter 3 as trends specifically visible within the city centre. Although the Grote Markt is located in the centre at a very short distance of the Statenplein, it can be categorised as a

residential square located outside the centre rather than a commercial retail square like it was before it the weekly market moved to the Statenvlein. Fear and fantasy thus seem more applicable to commercial squares in the city centre than non-commercial squares outside the city's core. The diagram of the Statenvlein is largely the result of the dominance of shops and events. As indicated in Section 6.3.1, the improvement of the retail district was one of the main goals formulated in the 1996 business plan (Gemeente Dordrecht, 1996). In this respect, the diagram of the Statenvlein can be regarded as an intended outcome of the municipal policy. Both the Statenvlein and the Grote Markt rate low on secured dimensions. This may result from the fact that Dordrecht is relatively safe. In a ranking of the safety level within the 50th largest Dutch cities, it occupies the 28th position (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007). Dordrecht is not characterised by high crime rates, at least not to such an extent that the local government feels that more security measures are required.

## 7.4 Fear and fantasy in Enschede

Section 6.4.1 described the rise and fall of Enschede as an industrial city. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the city experienced an economic downfall after the textile industry collapsed. To counteract the problems, the municipality decided to restructure its centre thoroughly. The redevelopment of the Oude Markt and the Van Heekplein are the result of this policy objective. The two research objects have different functions; the Oude Markt is a café square, while the Van Heekplein is a typical retail square. According to Yücesoy (2006), the nearby public spaces also differ with respect to the level of participation (disengaged observation at the Oude Markt versus engaged participation at the market on the Van Heekplein) and form (respectively circular and also indoors versus rectangular and solely outdoors). Despite these dissimilarities, the diagrams of the Oude Markt and Van Heekplein based on dimensions of fear and fantasy show that the squares can both be categorised as themed public spaces as the coverage in the lower part of the diagrams is larger than the coverage in the upper part (Figure 7.3).

The Oude Markt is one of the most used locations for events in the city centre. This includes large-scale events such as concerts but also smaller happenings like theme markets. There are electricity hook-ups available in the square's surface to facilitate these events. The Oude Markt shows a low intensity regarding the dimension 'funshopping'. This is related to the high rating with respect to sidewalk cafés. Many cafés and restaurants surround the square; the only 'shop' present is the local tourist office (VVV). Because of this characteristic, Yücesoy (2006) has defined the Oude Markt as leisure centre:

On sunny and warm days, the terraces are full, almost all tables in the sun are occupied and meanwhile passers-by's check these places with a quick look to see if there is anybody they know. The unified experience in the Square [*the Oude Markt*] is the entertainment and leisure of the individual. With its circular shape, the Square provides the very best setting for the individual to play the audience role.... (Yücesoy, 2006: 152)

The Oude Markt shows high ratings on two secured dimensions. Camera surveillance has been applied since July 2005. Two signs on the square indicate the presence of cameras that record and store images for a maximum of seven days. On busy evenings (Thursdays and Saturdays), the images are watched live. The cameras are used in combination with so-called 'calamity lighting'. This implies that the police are able to put on extra lighting by mobile phone in order

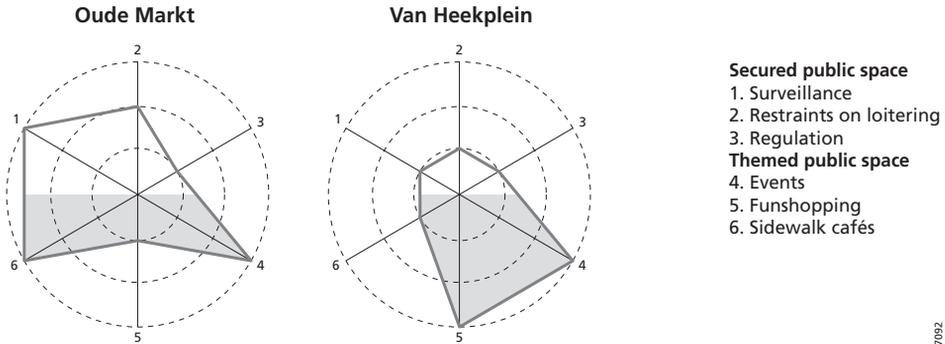


Figure 7.3 Six-dimensional profiles of the Oude Markt and Van Heekplein as secured (upper half) or themed (lower half) public space

to recognise potential perpetrators. Moreover, the police are assisted by a team of young people, who walk through the city during the night to soothe possible problems (the so-called *susploeg*). These surveillance measures have been implemented to counteract problems at night when the cafés close their doors. Although seating possibilities are numerous on the many sidewalk cafés that surround the Oude Markt, there are no benches in the public part of the square. Some possible edges to sit on have metal spikes. However, the Oude Markt cannot be closed off, hence the square rates medium on the dimension ‘restraints on loitering’. The square is subject to the regular local ordinance, which is enforced by the local police.

The Van Heekplein can be seen as a themed public space, because the square shows low intensities on all three secured dimensions, and high ones on themed dimensions. There is no camera surveillance present on the Van Heekplein, at least not on the square itself. Some of the shops surrounding the square have installed cameras and the underground parking garage is also secured by camera surveillance. There are a number of wooden benches on the square, which can be removed when the Van Heekplein transforms into a market place on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Although publicly accessible spaces located in some of the surrounding buildings can be closed off at night (e.g., the shopping centre Klanderij), the Van Heekplein itself cannot be fenced off. The area is regulated by the regular local ordinance.

The Van Heekplein has particularly high intensities regarding the dimensions events and funshopping. It is one of the main locations for events in the city centre next to the Oude Markt. The events include open-air concerts, international markets, and fashion shows including catwalk. To facilitate these events and the market, there are many electricity hook-ups as well as metal hooks to secure objects. The Van Heekplein is surrounded on all sides by retail that has a dominant ‘fun’ character, especially many clothing shops. There are no sidewalk cafés at the square, although there are a few lunchrooms located on the Van Heekplein. This might change in the future, since one of the restaurants (La Place, located on the north side of the square) has recently shown interest in opening an outdoor terrace on the Van Heekplein.

Enschede occupies the 16th position in the safety index of the 50 largest Dutch cities by Marlet and Van Woerkens (2007), and can thus be regarded as a relatively safe city. The inhabitants

also perceive it that way; they evaluated the safety level of the city with a 7,3 (on a scale of 1-10) in 2004 (Gemeente Enschede, 2006). This might account for the low rating of the Van Heekplein on the secured dimensions. One of the interviewed designers emphasised that instead of placing cameras or posing strict regulations, safety was achieved by creating an orderly and well-illuminated square. This fits within Oscar Newman's defensible space theory discussed in Section 3.2, which emphasises that the design of public space (e.g., lighting, height of buildings) can determine the crime level without actually using direct safety measures. The level of security is higher on the Oude Markt, which suggests that a café square requires more safeguarding (at least in terms of CCTV) than retail or other kinds of squares. This might be explained by the predominant use of the Oude Markt in the evening and at night in comparison to other types of squares, which mostly attract people during the day. The high intensity of the Van Heekplein on funshopping shows that Enschede has been successful in strengthening the retail function of its city centre, as was outlined in the 1996 city centre handbook (Gemeente Enschede, 1996).

## 7.5 Fear and fantasy in 's-Hertogenbosch

The *Binnenstad Buiten* plan was described in Section 6.5.1 as the main policy plan regarding the redevelopment of public space in 's-Hertogenbosch. The plan was adopted in 1993 to strengthen the meeting function of the city centre by making public space more attractive. It envisioned the upgrading of the entire city centre, including the Markt and Loeffplein. When applying the dimensions of fear and fantasy to these research objects, they appear to show different profiles yet at the same time they can both be classified as themed public spaces since the coverage of the lower part of the circles is larger than the coverage in the upper part (Figure 7.4).

There are currently no cameras present at the Markt. According to the design plans, this will not change after the square is redesigned in 2008. Unlike neighbouring cities such as Tilburg and Eindhoven, 's-Hertogenbosch only has camera surveillance in and around the train station and in some cafés and shops (Brabants Dagblad, 2005). With respect to the dimension 'restraints on loitering', the Markt also has a low intensity. There are some benches present at the square, and they will return after the square is redeveloped. The square cannot be closed off and is regulated by the local ordinance only. In contrast, the Markt shows high ratings in term of themed dimensions. There are a number of events that are being organised on the Markt, such as a beer festival and fun fair. Large electricity hook-ups already facilitate the events and the market stalls. These will be extended and incorporated in the pavement when the Markt is redeveloped. Shops with a dominant 'fun' nature surround the square, especially clothing and shoe shops. With respect to the presence of sidewalk cafés the Markt has a medium rating. There are a few cafés that have outdoor terraces, notably surrounding the central structure at the middle of the Markt (Figure 6.18). However, their size is relatively modest compared to the total size of the square. This can be explained by the fact that the entire Markt is used as market place twice a week, during which the terraces would need to be removed. Moreover, many cafés and restaurants are already clustered in the Uilenburg area (see Figure 6.16), which decreases the need for sidewalk cafés at the Markt.

Although shaped differently than the Markt, the profile of the Loeffplein also suggests that the square can be regarded as a themed public space, as the coverage in the lower part of the circle

is more extensive than the coverage in the upper part. However, the picture changes when the Arena is included in the diagram. The retail complex was designed as part of the public space of the Loeffplein, although the centre itself is privately owned. The connection between public space and the Arena was established by designing an open roof as well as multiple entrances. Consequently, the Arena seems to be a comprehensive part of public space and can therefore be incorporated in the Loeffplein diagram. By doing so, the coverage of the upper part of the circle becomes more extensive than the coverage of the lower part, indicating that the Loeffplein can be regarded as a secured public space. As stated above, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch hardly has any camera surveillance implemented in public space, with the exception of the area near the train station. No cameras supervise the Loeffplein including the Arena. However, there are restraints on loitering; the Loeffplein has no official seating possibilities in the form of benches. People instead use the plateau in the southern corner to sit on. There are benches in the Arena, but these are not accessible at all times because the Arena is closed off at night. The benches were not part of the original plan, but added later to lengthen the visitor's stay. Similarly, the gates of the Arena were inserted only after the shopping centre was opened. The local government did not want to have a closed-off, inward-oriented shopping centre in the middle of the city. However, it turned out to be popular in the evening among youngsters who caused noise nuisance to the residents of the surrounding apartments. Closing-off the Arena seemed the most appropriate solution. With respect to regulation, only the regular local ordinance of the inner city applies to the Loeffplein. However, the Arena has an additional ordinance. The rules of behaviour are listed at the entrance of the complex and include – amongst others – a prohibition of skateboarding, cycling, and ball games. Security guards make sure these rules are not violated.

With regard to the themed dimensions the Loeffplein shows relatively low ratings, with the exception of 'funshopping', which is caused by the presence of many stores with discretionary shopping goods such as clothing and shoe shops. This is even more the case in the Arena area, which – although there are also some 'run' shops like the supermarket Albert Heijn – is

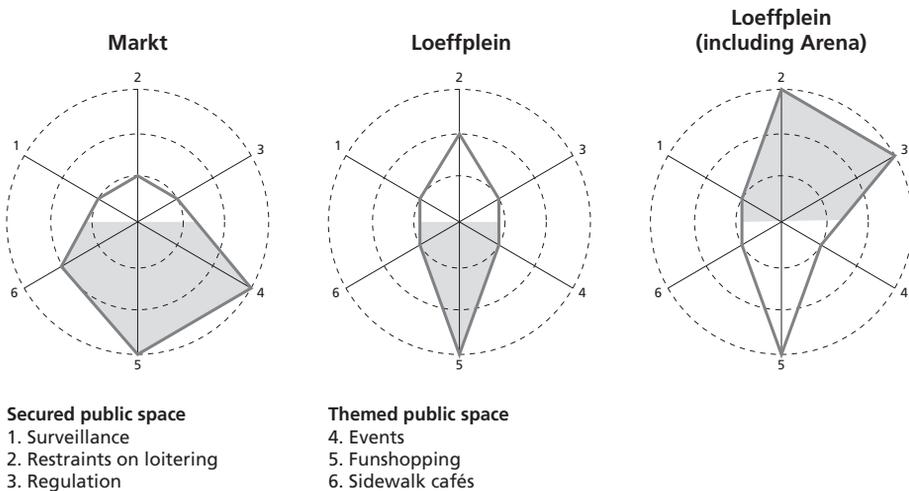


Figure 7.4 Six-dimensional profiles of the Markt and Loeffplein as secured (upper half) or themed (lower half) public space

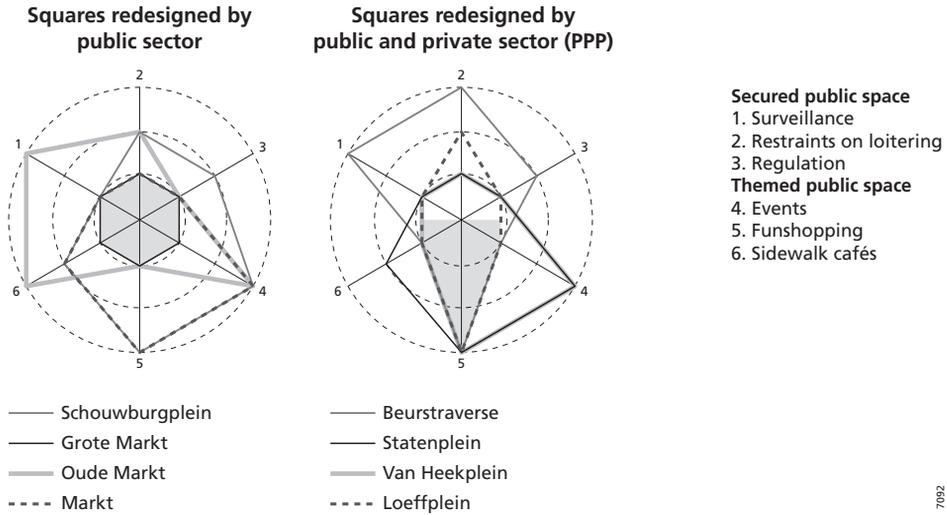
comprised of many stores with a 'fun' nature. The Loeffplein is only occasionally used for small-scale events such as street theatre. There are also no permanent facilities available. This also applies to the Arena area. There are no sidewalk cafés present on the Loeffplein, except for a small terrace in the sunken plaza of the Arena, but this only makes up a small percentage of the total surface. Therefore, the Loeffplein (with and without Arena) has a low rating on the dimension 'sidewalk cafés'.

Figure 7.4 shows that safety has not been a central issue in the redevelopment of the Markt and Loeffplein. In general, 's-Hertogenbosch has implied few safety measures such as CCTV and the closure of particular parts of the city. Yet the city occupies the 39th position in Marlet and Van Woerkens' (2007) safety ranking and is thus less safe than the average large city in the Netherlands. Therefore, there does not seem to be a clear-cut relation between crime levels and security measures in 's-Hertogenbosch. The high rating on 'funshopping' of both the Markt and Loeffplein can be explained by the city's relatively modest industrial past. Except for a few factories that were located in the city, 's-Hertogenbosch has been an administrative and service sector-oriented city for a long time, especially compared to cities as Rotterdam and Enschede. According to an interviewed public-sector representative, the city therefore recognised the importance of retail in the city centre at a relatively early stage. This resulted in several projects to strengthen the centre's retail function, including the 1993 policy plan as well as the foundation of the Centre Management, including the local government, Fortis Bank, the merchant association and the association of local entrepreneurs (see Section 6.5.3). The city thus focuses on 'fantasy' by stimulating retail rather than on 'fear' by implementing security measures.

## 7.6 Comparing the research objects on fear and fantasy

From the descriptions in Chapter 6 and the previous sections, it has become clear that the eight research objects have both differences and similarities. Except for the Grote Markt in Dordrecht, all public spaces have more or less been pedestrianised (some are car free, others are open to traffic during fixed delivery hours or partly accessible for motorised traffic). This transformation has been described in Section 2.5 as a general trend in Dutch public space and occurs in redevelopment projects throughout Europe: "One of the dominant interventions in the regeneration of medium-sized European city centres has been the separation of transportation modes, in particular the pedestrianisation of streets and squares ..." (Tan, 2006: 13). With respect to the manifestation of fear and fantasy the research objects show more variation. The Beurstraverse and Loeffplein (including the Arena) turned out to be secured public spaces. On the other hand, the Schouwburgplein, Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Markt proved to be examples of themed public spaces. In the other research objects, the outcome was more balanced. The Grote Markt showed an almost equal coverage of the upper and lower part of the diagrams, indicating that it is neither a dominantly secured nor a dominantly themed public space. This also applies to the Oude Markt.

As a result of the selection procedure outlined in Section 5.2, the function and the actors involved in the research objects also show differences and similarities. The Oude Markt and Grote Markt differ in function; the Oude Markt is a vibrant café square while the Grote Markt is currently used as parking square. However, they have in common that the redevelopment



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Figure 7.5 Six-dimensional profiles of all research objects as secured (upper half) or themed (lower half) public space (Loeffplein including the Arena is left out)

was completed without involvement of the private sector. The Markt and Van Heekplein both function as market place, but differ with respect to the actors involved in the redevelopment; while the Markt will be redesigned without any private-sector involvement, the Van Heekplein was upgraded with an abundance of private actors (see Table 5.3). To find out to what extent the differences and similarities in terms of fear versus fantasy can be linked to variations in terms of public versus PPP developments, the diagrams of the eight research objects are combined in Figure 7.5. The projects are grouped on the basis of their main function (non-retail or retail squares) and actors involved in the redesign process (only public sector or PPP). Because these groups completely overlap, only the latter is indicated in the heading of the diagrams.

The most striking outcome of Figure 7.5 is that public spaces redesigned by both the public and the private sector (PPP squares) without exception show high ratings on the dimension 'funshopping'. This might not be surprising, because the inventory of redeveloped city squares already revealed that the involvement of the private sector is almost entirely restricted to retail squares (Section 5.2.3). However, not every retail square necessarily has high ratings on funshopping. There are neighbourhood squares outside the city centre that have a retail function, which Klaassen (1994) defines as facility squares (Section 2.6). These squares often consist of parking space surrounded by shops with a dominant 'run' nature such as supermarkets and convenience stores with low-order assortments. However, within city centres – at least in our case-study cities – retail squares are prime locations for funshopping. Because of this homogeneous outcome, it is safe to conclude that retail is an important, if not compulsory precondition for the private sector to become involved in the redevelopment of public space. This preference to participate in retail redevelopment projects is also observed in international real estate literature. Adair et al. (2003), for example, found that retail property performs extremely well within regeneration areas, which appear to be particularly suited to shopping centres and retail warehousing investments. Section 8.2.2 describes the role and objectives of the private

actors involved in the cases in more depth; it uses the interviews and focus group meetings to elaborate on the private sector's perceived preference for retail projects.

A second observation is the absence of events and sidewalk cafés on PPP squares. The number of events organised on the Loeffplein, Statenplein, and Van Heekplein is fairly limited. In the Beurstraverse no events are organised at all. There are also no sidewalk cafés at the PPP squares. The Statenplein is the exception, but the size of its terraces is relatively modest compared to its total size. Apparently, the private sector does not promote the outdoor consumption of food and beverages. Bergenhenegouwen's (2002) research on the Beurstraverse provides a possible explanation for this finding. One of his informants stated:

Restaurants and cafés of course belong to shopping land. On the first floor you have a coffee bar, in the C&A is a McDonalds (...). But we have consciously decided to not do that down in the underpass, because – firstly – one did not desire that mix of shops and restaurants. That has to do with branding. If you have restaurants, than there is fat and liquids involved, that's a completely different world. Secondly, it has been done to avoid undesired activities at night .... (Bergenhenegouwen, 2002: 146, translation from Dutch by the author)

The PPP squares thus show low ratings on the themed dimensions except for funshopping. This does not automatically imply that they can be classified as secured public spaces. Figure 7.5 indicates that that in two out of four PPP squares there is some form of restraints on loitering; the possibility of closure (Beurstraverse) or the absence of street furniture (Loeffplein). Other than that, the PPP intensities on secured dimensions are relatively low. Camera surveillance is not installed, only in the Beurstraverse. In general, the PPP squares are subject to the regular local ordinance. Only in case of the Beurstraverse and inside the surrounding shopping centres (i.e., the Drievriendenhof, Arena, and Klanderij) there is supplementary regulation and/or private security. In short, the involvement of the private sector does not automatically lead to an abundance of safety measures.

With respect to publicly realised squares, the categorisation as themed or secured public space is dependent on their specific functions. As indicated in Table 5.3, all four public spaces can be classified in another way: the Schouwburgplein as cultural square, the Grote Markt as parking square, the Oude Markt as café square, and the Markt as retail square. Figure 7.5 shows large differences in their profiles. Not surprisingly, the café square rates high on the dimension 'sidewalk cafés', and the retail square high on 'funshopping'. It is also not astonishing that the cultural square has a high rating with respect to 'events'. Neither is it remarkable that the non-commercial square shows low ratings on almost all six dimensions. After all, these dimensions were set up on the basis of observed trends in commercial urban public spaces. If the Grote Markt is left out of the analysis, squares redeveloped by the public sector can mostly be categorised as themed public spaces.

To what extent can the ratings on dimensions of fear and fantasy of a particular public space be attributed to either its function or the involved actors? This question is difficult to answer. As discussed above, function does seem to contribute to a particular outcome of the diagrams (e.g., a high intensity on the dimension 'event' in case of the cultural square). Moreover, the retail squares generally rate higher on 'funshopping' than the non-retail squares. However, the public and private sector jointly redeveloped the majority of these retail squares; private-sector involvement might thus account for this dominant funshopping rather than their function as retail square. Yet how do we explain the identical profiles of the Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch (a

public square) and the Statenplein in Dordrecht (a PPP square) if the actor composition would be decisive? A comparison of the PPP squares shows that different ratings on dimensions of fear and fantasy occur even when the function and actor composition are similar. These findings suggest there are other explanatory factors for different intensities of fear and fantasy besides the function and the actors involved in the redevelopment.

Overall, the eight research objects have relatively low ratings on the secured dimensions, especially in contrast to the strong emphasis on crime and safety in public-space literature (Section 3.2). The interviews also revealed that most informants do not regard the creation of safe public spaces as an important goal in urban redevelopment. As stated in Section 6.6, crime was seldom mentioned as cause or focus point of the redevelopment. The main aim is rather to create an attractive public space. Ensuring safety is a condition to achieve this goal, rather than a goal itself. One of the interviewed designers compared public space to a car: you do not design a safe automobile, but one that appeals to people, which is predominantly beautiful and sportive but also safe. Moreover, the designers claimed that safety is sought in an open, transparent design with good lighting instead of using CCTV or sadistic street furniture. Having an entrepreneurial approach thus not automatically leads to an abundance of cameras, restraints on loitering, and strict regulation, as suggested by MacLeod (2002, Section 4.2.2). At least not in the Netherlands, where security measures such as CCTV are less pervasive than in other European countries such as the UK and Finland. Rather, it seems to result in strategies to promote the city's identity as described in Section 4.2.2: the organisation of events and the use of spectacular, post-modern architecture of buildings and public space (e.g., the hoisting cranes on the Schouwburgplein and the fountains on the Statenplein and Van Heekplein).

## 7.7 Conclusions

This chapter has visualised the eight research objects by means of six-dimensional diagrams depicting their ratings on dimensions of fear and fantasy. The technique represents a rare attempt in academic literature to analyse the trends manifest in public space using qualitative descriptions to create quantified diagrams. However, the application of this multi-scaling technique is explorative and warrants considerable refinement. It could be elaborated by increasing the number of variables, while the rating scale could be extended to cover more than three levels and simple ordinal scales. It would also be possible to delegate the rating task to stakeholders, experts, or interested members of the public, rather than basing it exclusively on our own observations. Some of the dimensions need to be substituted when applied in a different context. Surveillance, for example, would not be a distinguishing dimension in British city centres where CCTV systems are practically universal. As outlined in Section 3.2, Dutch cities and their public spaces still show substantial differentiation in this respect. The diagrams can thus only reveal interesting findings, when the research objects show different intensities with respect to the selected dimensions. Lastly, the technique should be applied to more public spaces to validate its utility.

The diagrams show that it is possible to classify public spaces as either a secured or a themed public space. However, public spaces in both categories also exhibit features found on the opposite side of the circle: elements of fear and fantasy coincide in public space. This

confirms the work of several authors cited in Section 3.4, who have emphasised the connection between these percepts (e.g., Zukin, 1995; Tiesdell & Oc, 1998; Boutellier, 2002). Following their reasoning, Section 3.5 concluded that the pursuit of pleasure is safeguarded by restrictions, which in turn are commonly compensated by the availability of a lively public domain. Our research outcome complements these earlier insights, but also shows that there is no clear-cut mechanism that more fear leads to more fantasy. Figure 7.5 shows that public spaces that have high ratings on themed dimensions in general have low ratings on secured dimensions (except for the Oude Markt). Conversely, public spaces with a high 'fear factor' (i.e., the Beurstraverse and Loeffplein including the Arena) show relatively low intensities on fantasy-related dimensions except for the dimension 'funshopping'. Fear and fantasy thus occur simultaneously in public space, but do not necessarily reinforce each other.

The six-dimensional diagrams have shown that publicly realised squares can mostly be seen as themed public spaces. The outcome of the diagrams is closely linked to their function: the café square rates high on 'sidewalk cafés' and the cultural square on 'events'. In contrast, PPP squares are often characterised by low ratings on these two dimensions. Therefore, they cannot be classified as themed public spaces, despite the fact that they all have high ratings on funshopping. Generally, CCTV is not often implemented at the PPP squares and they are mostly subject to the regular local ordinance. The Beurstraverse in Rotterdam is the exception: with 68 cameras, restraints on loitering, and additional regulation, this underpass is the epitome of secured public space.

An important research finding of this chapter is the high intensity of 'funshopping' in the squares redesigned by the local government in co-operation with the private sector. The inventory of redeveloped city squares already revealed that the private sector seems to be particularly interested in upgrading retail squares. Consequently, other public spaces in the city such as cultural, café, or non-commercial squares, might fall short in terms of design and management compared to retail squares in which the private sector is involved. Chapter 8 investigates the possible effects of private-sector involvement on the redevelopment of public space in more detail.



## 8 Private-sector involvement in the cases

*Many cities in Western Europe (...) are managing to maintain relatively open and socially democratic public spaces, even though commercialisation and privatisation may be encroaching.*  
Graham & Marvin (2001: 233)

### 8.1 Introduction

Public spaces redeveloped jointly by the local government and the private sector without any exception show high ratings on the dimension 'funshopping'. Retail can thus be regarded as an important precondition for the private sector to become involved in the redevelopment of public space. This was one of the research findings revealed by the six-dimensional diagrams discussed in the previous chapter. But is this a correct conclusion? In the present chapter we continue to investigate the relation between the characteristics of public space and the actor composition. When looking at the research objects, *what are the effects of private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of urban public space in the Netherlands?* Does it lead to an increase in the available redevelopment budget? Does it affect the free access of public spaces; will these become more restricted or remain open and democratic spaces like Graham and Marvin (2001) contend above? To answer the third research question on the basis of empirics, this chapter solely focuses on the PPP research objects: the Beurstraverse in Rotterdam, the Statenplein in Dordrecht, the Van Heekplein in Enschede, and the Loeffplein in 's-Hertogenbosch. The other four publicly realised projects are only referred to when illustrative for the redevelopment of the four PPP squares.

Because the research objects were selected on the basis of criteria (Section 5.2.2), they reveal a number of similarities. The PPP squares have all been redeveloped during the last decade with support of the private sector. All four are located within the historic city centre. Yet each project lacks a dominant historic character and is relatively large, either because it resulted from WWII-bombings (Beurstraverse, Van Heekplein) or of (large-scale) demolition activities in the 1960s (Statenplein, Loeffplein). Neither was the main central public space of the city. As such, the areas could be thoroughly redeveloped without much resistance from the local population and historic preservation organisations. In all four projects, the redevelopment of public space was linked to the construction of new buildings, which mostly combined retail on the ground floor and housing on the upper floors. The public spaces were reduced in size and redeveloped simultaneously with the construction of the new building. The PPP squares therefore suggest that the private sector is interested in redevelopment when it involves public space that has limited historicity and offers the possibility of comprehensive physical restructuring.

Like the preceding two chapters, this chapter is largely based on the semi-structured interviews with the actors involved in the redevelopment of the cases. However, because it specifically deals with these key players (Section 8.2) and their opinion about the possible effects of the private-sector involvement (Section 8.3), the interviews are now used in a more

explicit manner. To express the opinions of the informants we have used literal quotes, which were translated from Dutch by the author. To respect the informants' anonymity, the quotes are not linked to their names, but to the sector they represent (i.e., public sector, private sector, or design). The quotes are numbered in Roman (I, II, III, etc.) in order of appearance, but are also connected to the informants. For example, public-sector representative I is the same informant throughout the chapter.

## 8.2 Roles and objectives of public and private actors in the PPP research objects

Chapter 6 has outlined the redevelopment projects of the four PPP squares in depth. It also introduced the main actors involved in these projects. These are listed in Table 8.1, which shows that – in addition to the above-discussed similarities – the four PPP squares also show resemblance with regard to the actors involved in the redevelopment, which was already briefly mentioned in Section 5.3.1. Developer Multi, for example, was involved in the redevelopment of all four PPP squares. ING Bank, VendexKBB and T+T Design also participated in multiple projects. Although this dominance of certain actors could be the result of the selection of the cases (see also Section 9.5), it suggests that actors are 'shared' among redevelopment projects. The following subsections describe the roles and objectives of these actors in more detail.

*Table 8.1* Main actors involved in the redevelopment projects of the PPP squares

	<b>Beurstraverse</b>	<b>Statenplein</b>	<b>Van Heekplein</b>	<b>Loeffplein</b>
Developer	Multi	Multi	Dura Te Pas (Twentec tower) Foruminvest (Twentec mall) Holland Casino (Casino) Multi (Bijenkorf) VendexKBB (V&D) Foruminvest/Prowinko (Klanderij) Multi/Holland Casino (garage)	Multi
Investor	Consortium, incl. ING (previously Nationale Nederlanden), Focas, and City of Rotterdam	VendexKBB Achmea	Vesteda (Twentec tower) Foruminvest (Twentec mall) Holland Casino (casino) Interpolis (Bijenkorf & V&D) Foruminvest/Prowinko (Klanderij) City of Enschede (garage)	ING (now also Oppenheim Immobilien-Kapitalanlage-gesellschaft)
Designer master plan	T+T Design	T+T Design	West8	T+T Design
Designer public space	De Bruijn (Architecten Cie) Jerde Partnership	MTD	OKRA	BB+GG Architectes
Other parties involved	Management company Actys (formerly known as Dynamis)	Supervisor Rijnboutt Management company SCM	Supervisor Hartzema (West8) Project coordinators Twijnstra Gudde and DHV	Management company Actys (later replaced by Redema)

Source: based on Chapter 6. NB. The local government is not included in the table, since it is always present in redevelopment projects.

### 8.2.1 Role and objectives of the local government

The reasons why local authorities of the cases strive for urban redevelopment have already been discussed in Section 6.6. The overview of urban policies showed that next to their regular task to provide public services, the municipalities of Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede and 's-Hertogenbosch also concentrate on public space in order to distinguish themselves from other cities within the interurban competition for businesses, residents, and tourists. This qualifies them as entrepreneurial cities. However, the motives of the local government to redevelop public space are not always to stand out in comparison to other cities; at times it is simply necessary because public space is in a degenerated state and – financially or physically – depreciated. As one of the informants summarised:

*[Redevelopment of public space occurs]* simply because the time is right, because politicians feel like it, because of an upcoming event, because we would like to have the Tour de France, because we would like to be European Capital of Culture. Those are all arguments (...), but also because of the cycle of depreciation: public space is depreciated and it has to be renewed. (Public-sector representative I)

Table 8.2 shows that despite the growing involvement of the private sector, the role of the local government is still extensive regarding all redevelopment tasks (i.e., taking the *initiative*, selecting the *design*, directing the redevelopment *process*, *financing* the redevelopment and *maintaining* public space after the redevelopment is finished). Local authorities have not always taken the initiative to redevelop the PPP squares, but once the ball started rolling they have been involved in every part of the project. Similar tables have been set up regarding the role of the private sector and other stakeholders (Table 8.3 and 8.4). When comparing these to Table 8.2, it appears that the role of the local government is particularly dominant regarding process

Table 8.2 Role of the local government (LG) in the redevelopment of the PPP squares

	Beurstraverse	Statenplein	Van Heekplein	Loeffplein
Initiative	-	LG took initiative for first plans, which were never executed. Multi and VendexKBB initiated final plans	LG started process by appointing MAB and later Multi to make plans	-
Design	Consortium incl. LG selected architects to design public space	LG selected MTD to design public space	LG selected OKRA to design public space	LG (and Multi) selected Beth Gali to design public space
Process	LG acted as director	LG acted as director, but was assisted by supervisor Rijnboutt	LG acted as director, but was assisted by DHV and supervisor West 8	LG acted as director
Finance	LG financed 1/8 of total costs	LG financed total costs with capital raised from the sale of land	LG financed total costs with capital raised from the sale of land	LG financed total costs with capital raised from the sale of land
Maintenance	Carried out by Actys on behest of consortium incl. LG	Carried out by LG	Carried out by LG	Carried out by LG

Source: Interviews (2006)

and maintenance, while the workload and decision-making power are shared more equally with respect to the other tasks. Supervisors, including architects and consultancy agencies, assisted the local authorities in directing the redevelopment process of the Statenplein and Van Heekplein (see Section 8.2.4), but the local government remained the main responsible actor. One of the informants used a metaphor to explain this division of labour:

It is very simple: directing the redevelopment concerns everything; the contracts, arranging the land positions, price negotiations, technical implementation, and process control. Arranging supervision is also part of it. You could compare it to making a movie: it [*the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein*] was a production with the local government as producer and some co-producers for the surrounding buildings, with the municipality as only director. Very simple, like the movies. (Public-sector representative II)

Even in the PPP research objects, the local government is thus still the main director. Its responsibility for public space does not seem to have changed much despite the involvement of the private sector. This also applies to the task to maintain public space after the redevelopment is completed. Except for the Beurstraverse, the local government arranges and finances the maintenance on its own. With regard to the design and finance, the private sector appears to be more involved (see Table 8.3).

As described in Section 4.3, each of the players is described as a single actor for sake of simplicity, although in reality they may consist of several departments each with their own objectives, procedures and resources (Seip, 1999). However, an exception is made regarding the role of aldermen. During the interviews, it became clear that these specific public-sector representatives can play an important role in urban redevelopment. The overview of developments at the Schouwburgplein, for example, showed that the alderman of spatial planning Joop Linthorst played a decisive role in reviving the deadlocked discussions regarding the square's future (Section 6.2.2). Linthorst committed himself to reactivate a number of public space projects. According to one of the informants, this level of engagement is risky yet required:

I believe in the friendly dictatorship of a couple of people that stick out their necks, take responsibility and say: "that is what we are going to make, and I will convince the people that it is necessary." That's the task of an alderman of spatial planning. 's-Hertogenbosch was only able to redevelop its centre because of Hans Dona [*alderman in the 1980s and 1990s*]. Sminck [*alderman in the period 1992-2006 in Groningen*] was a similar personality.

But you also have aldermen who twaddle and never get down to business. (Designer I)

The aldermen of spatial planning involved in the PPP squares appear to fall in the first category rather than the second. Joop Linthorst (Rotterdam) and Hans Dona ('s-Hertogenbosch) have already been mentioned. Cok Sas was responsible for the redevelopment of the city centre in Dordrecht. Because he served twelve years as alderman of spatial planning, Sas was a permanent actor in the redevelopment process. He was convinced that Dordrecht city's centre needed a thorough upgrading and committed him to the project. In a similar vein, alderman Eric Helder of Enschede was engaged in the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein:

Alderman Helder really did it himself. He stood in front of the town council to explain that the redevelopment costs were once again higher than expected. The advisors [*project coordinators Twijnstra Gudde and DHV, see Table 8.1*] could not do that for him. Without alderman Helder and some others too..., there are a couple of people that make sure such a project continues. (Private-sector representative I)

Discussions during the focus group meetings with the advisory team suggested that the role of aldermen of spatial planning in redevelopment projects is influenced by their political affiliation. Without exception, the aldermen were members of the Dutch labour party (*Partij van de Arbeid*, PvdA). Although this finding might be coincidental and should be investigated with respect to a larger number of redevelopment projects, one private-sector representative confirmed that his organisation prefers to co-operate with labour aldermen as they make good plans in a fast pace.

The alderman can thus play a significant role in the redevelopment process, but what are his main objectives? Lenzholzer (2005) states that implementing redevelopment projects is a good way of obtaining votes within the Dutch local election period of four years. An upgraded city centre serves as business card and increases the possibility of the responsible politicians to become re-elected. An informant believed that creating goodwill among the local population is indeed one of the motives of politicians to redevelop public space. He based his argumentation on Rotterdam, where the local government lately focused on creating clean and safe public space rather than (re)developing showcases like the Schouwburgplein and Beurstraverse in the 1990s:

Chances are high that the attention for showcase projects will grow in the coming election period. The 'Fortuyn' [*populist politician who was assassinated in 2002*] aldermen want to leave something behind after four years of merely creating clean and safe public space.

They already posed the idea: "wouldn't be nice if my period in office would (instead of a project) at least lead to a visionary plan for the future?" (Private-sector representative II)

However, most of the interviewed informants countered this idea and stated that the responsible aldermen were mainly committed to improving the urban structure of the city rather than creating goodwill for themselves or their party among the local population.

### 8.2.2 Role and objectives of the private sector

In Section 7.6 the conclusion was drawn that retail is an important, if not compulsory precondition for the private sector to become involved in the redevelopment of public space. The real estate literature emphasises that the main motive for developers and investors to engage in urban redevelopment is the achievement of high returns on investment (Section 4.4.2). According to the European Shopping Centre Digest (CB Richard Ellis/IPD, 2006) retail is the best performing real estate sector in Europe. The preference to participate in the redevelopment of retail squares can thus be linked to the higher return on investment in comparison to cultural, café, or residential squares. The private-sector representatives generally confirmed this:

Developers and investors prefer to lease out to retail rather than cafés or restaurants, because the rent of a shop is generally higher. Plus cafés and restaurants are more vulnerable, because you are very dependent on the manager. A large part of the shops, on the other hand, are franchise or chain stores, which makes it easier to appraise. Most developers active in city centres develop combinations of shops, housing and parking, maybe some offices too. (Private-sector representative III)

In general, the willingness of the private sector to co-operate in public space redevelopment increases when it involves the construction of new commercial buildings:

That's a very important difference: a square where no large-scale investment in real estate occurs, where no real property development takes place, will have difficulties generating money from the market. However, when property development occurs, there's all of a sudden a large bag of money. Then there is always some capital available for the design of public space. (Private-sector representative II)

This suggests that the private sector is mainly interested in participating in the redevelopment of public space when the total project involves new (preferably retail) constructions rather than the mere beautification of public space. Therefore, it is not surprising that the four PPP squares all show an increase of retail in the surrounding property (i.e., the construction of shops in the Beurstraverse, the Nieuwe Blok at the Statenplein, the Arena and Stoa at the Loeffplein, and the Bijenkorf and upgrading of the V&D and Klanderij at the Van Heekplein). Some informants stressed that there are examples where the private sector is willing to invest in non-retail squares, but this mainly concerns housing associations involved in the upgrading of residential squares located outside the city centre rather than, for example, cultural squares:

That's logical [*that the private sector is not involved in cultural squares*], because it has no control over what will happen in those 'temples of culture' and thus the return is unpredictable. However, there are examples of places you can redevelop with support of associations that own the surrounding property. In that case, control and financial advantages are more predictable. For example the *Mercatorplein* in Amsterdam, where associations could obtain capital from the bank to co-finance the design of public space based on the expected increase in value of the association's property. (Designer II)

However, co-financing public space is often limited to large investors. Individual shop-owners are usually not very eager to participate in urban redevelopment, because they feel that they would be performing a task of the local government. Table 8.3 shows the role of the private sector in the redevelopment of the PPP squares. The private actors seem particularly involved in the finance and design of public space, which is elaborated in Section 8.3.1 and 8.3.3. In contrast, developers

Table 8.3 Role of the private sector in the redevelopment of the PPP squares

	Beurstraverse	Statenplein	Van Heekplein	Loeffplein
Initiative	Developer Multi took initiative to expand C&A's upgrading plans to surrounding area	Multi (and VendexKBB) came with final redevelopment plan	-	-
Design	Consortium incl. Nationale Nederlanden selected architects to design public space	Achmea and Multi selected Vandenhove to design Nieuwe Blok	Several investors selected architects to design their property (Table 8.1)	Multi (and the local government) selected Gali to design public space and Tusquets to design Arena
Process	-	-	-	-
Finance	Investor Nationale Nederlanden (later ING) financed 7/8 of total costs	Insurance company Achmea contributed by purchasing land for Nieuwe Blok	Several investors contributed by purchasing land for Bijenkorf, V&D, and Klanderij (Table 8.1)	Nationale Nederlanden contributed by purchasing land for Arena
Maintenance	Carried out by Actys on behalf of consortium incl. investors ING and Focas	-	-	-

Source: Interviews (2006)

and investors hardly contribute to directing the redevelopment process and maintaining the public space after it has been redeveloped. The Beurstraverse is the exception.

### 8.2.3 Role of the stakeholders

The potential role of other stakeholders has been described in Section 4.3.3, which focused on retailers, local residents, and preservation groups. The motive of retailers to be involved in redevelopment stems from the expected increase in sales after the upgrading. However, they might also fear increased competition and a loss of income during the reconstruction period. The retailers have not been explicitly interviewed as a group of actors in the research, because they are mainly regarded as stakeholders rather than active actors. Nevertheless, some remarks can be made on their role and objectives regarding the redevelopment of the PPP squares. The examples of the Beurstraverse and Statenplein show that retailers, such as the owners of the retail conglomerate C&A and department store V&D, can sometimes initiate the redevelopment process rather than the local government or a developer (Table 8.4).

In Rotterdam, the intended demolition and rebuilding of the C&A store generated the idea to also redevelop the store's immediate surrounding, which eventually led to the development of the Beurstraverse as sunken underpass. In case of the Statenplein, the owner of V&D (VendexKBB) and developer Multi jointly induced a breakthrough in the seemingly endless discussion about the square's redevelopment. In both projects, the redevelopment of public space was closely linked to the upgrading of the department stores. However, while the owners of C&A desired to expand (in the 1980s), the owners of the V&D were interested in reducing the floor space of their department store (in the 1990s). This difference is related to the fact that not only the V&D, but department stores in general are going through difficult times in the last decade (see text box). They have to deal with increasing competition of other shops. The sales of large products such as furniture have declined due to the competition of so-called 'furniture

Table 8.4 Role of the stakeholders in the redevelopment of the PPP squares

	Beurstraverse	Statenplein	Van Heekplein	Loeffplein
Initiative	C&A's plans to upgrade its store triggered Multi's proposal to also redevelop its surroundings	VendexKBB (and Multi) came with final redevelopment plan	-	Association of local entrepreneurs (Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch) triggered decision-making process
Design	-	-	VendexKBB was highly involved in brainstorm concerning design of public space	Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch was involved in the selection process of the designers
Process	-	-	-	Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch was responsible to settle the objections to the redevelopment plan
Finance	-	-	-	-
Maintenance	-	-	-	-

Source: Interviews (2006)

## Department stores in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, there are three important department stores that are now owned by the same company: the Bijenkorf, V&D, and Hema. The Bijenkorf, established in Amsterdam in 1870, was one of the first department stores in the country. At the beginning of the 20th century, the company grew swiftly resulting in shops in Rotterdam and The Hague. In 1927, the owners of the Bijenkorf set up a new subsidiary, a discount department store named the Hema. In the economic depression of the 1930s, this turned out to be a very good decision, because the low prices of the Hema attracted not only the working class, but also the impoverished bourgeoisie. The Depression led to a downswing for the Bijenkorf, but this was compensated by the sales of the Hema.

After the Second World War, the Bijenkorf soon regained its image as trendsetter. However, competition grew as a result of the increasing popularity of another department store: the Vroom & Dreesmann. The V&D had a more popular range of products and was therefore not only a competitor to the Bijenkorf, but also to the Hema. In return, the Bijenkorf opened more stores and upgraded them, selling only exclusive products. In 1966, a new holding was set up: the Koninklijke Bijenkorf Beheer (KBB). The owners of the V&D also developed a holding named Vendex in 1973, uniting the V&D warehouses with other companies such as Kreymborg and supermarket Edah. In 1999, the KBB was taken over by Vendex, leading to the VendexKBB holding, which owns a large share of Dutch retail shops. Since June 2006, VendexKBB is called Maxeda after it had been taken over by the international private equity consortium VDXK Acquisition.

Source: Miellet & Voorn, 2001

boulevards' with good accessibility at the city's edge. Technological innovations facilitate just-in-time delivery and decrease the need for large stocks. As a result of automation, the number of employees decreases as well as the required space for meetings and staff cafeterias. All these factors have triggered that some department stores were closed and others decreased in size (Miellet & Voorn, 2001). The owners are often interested in combining the renovation of their department store with the redevelopment of the surrounding public space, because they expect this will attract more customers.

The PPP research objects show that large department stores can play a role in the redevelopment of public space, particularly as initiators. In contrast, individual shop owners proved to be hardly involved. They can become influential actors when united. In the researched objects, this only occurred at the Loeffplein. The associations of local entrepreneurs called 'Heart of 's-Hertogenbosch (*Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch*) claim to have been the first to call for an upgrading of the city centre. Its plan was never executed but it triggered the debate concerning the redevelopment of the Loeffplein. Subsequently, the association played a role in the actual redevelopment process as member of the so-called Centre Management (Section 6.5.3). It was responsible to settle the objections to the plan and was also involved in the selection of

the architects responsible for the design of the Arena, Stoa, and Loeffplein. This high level of participation of the local entrepreneurs is relatively unique:

I know no other city in the Netherlands where entrepreneurs are so well-organised as in 's-Hertogenbosch. They have played a large role in the whole decision-making. They interfered successfully very early in the decision-making process, because they formed one bloc. (Private-sector representative II)

Other stakeholders, such as residents' associations and preservation groups, did not play a significant role in any of the PPP research objects (Table 8.4). Apparently, the redevelopment plans did not raise much opposition, which might be explained by the fact that none of them were seen as the main historic public space of the city. The current redevelopment of the Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, triggers much more commitment of the local residents and preservation groups because the square is regarded as the central 'living room' of the city. The timing of the redevelopment could also be decisive. The materialisation of lines of resistance started slowly due to the relative novelty of regeneration strategies in the 1990s (Section 4.2.2). Consequently, little difficulties with protesting local stakeholders were encountered during the redevelopment of the Beurstraverse (1996) and Loeffplein (1998). More recent redevelopments, such as the Oude Markt (2004) and Markt (2008), seem to evoke more involvement of local stakeholders.

#### **8.2.4 Role and objectives of other involved actors**

There are other actors that have played an important role in the redevelopment of the PPP squares, but who were not described as key decision-making actors in Section 4.3. This specifically concerns the architect, whose role was particularly emphasised in the interviews regarding the Statenplein in Dordrecht and the Van Heekplein in Enschede. Architects were left out of the theoretical analysis because we assumed that they rather implement than make the decisions. However, the interviews revealed that this assumption was too narrow-minded. Architects can play different roles in redevelopment processes. They participate as designer of the master plan, the surrounding buildings, or the public space. Table 8.1 outlined the architects and landscape architects responsible for the design of the PPP squares and the surrounding buildings, including T+T Design, West 8, Architecten Cie, Jerde Partnership, MTD Landschapsarchitecten, OKRA, and Beth Galí of BB+GG Arquitectes.

However, the architect's level of involvement can surpass the design task. Some architects function as supervisor of the redevelopment project. What this exactly implies differs from project to project. Supervisors ensure that the designs of the individual buildings and public space do not conflict but show coherence, and that the design agreements are retained throughout the project (Koster, 2001). Sometimes they are responsible for the selection of the designers architects. In general, supervisors are the mediators between the local government, developers, investors, designers, and contractors, and can therefore play an important role in redevelopment projects. Ex-Chief Government Architect (*Rijkshouwmeester*) Kees Rijnbout functioned as supervisor of the entire redevelopment project of the Statenplein (Section 6.3.3). Henk Hartzema of architecture agency West 8 performed this task at the Van Heekplein (Section 6.4.3). In both projects, the actors were already involved because they were responsible for designing part of the project. Rijnbout designed the renewed V&D and Gevulde Gracht, while Hartzema was involved in formulating the master plan of the Van Heekplein. The difference was that Rijnbout combined his functions as supervisor and designer, while Hartzema became supervisor only

after the master plan was finished. With hindsight, Rijnboult acknowledged that the latter is preferable:

You cannot supervise and design at the same time. I have tried it, but felt very unhappy. It is way too complicated to arbitrate between the interests of different architects, if you also have your own interest. Obviously, you do influence a design to a large extent as a supervisor, but more on the level of a director or conductor of an orchestra. (...) As supervisor, I am the conductor that has to interpret and execute the compositions of others .... (Rijnboult, cited by Koster, 2001: 9, translation from Dutch by the author)

As discussed in Section 1.4, the number of actors involved in the redevelopment of Dutch public space has risen in the last decades. To structure the complicated processes, a directing figure has become more and more indispensable (Van Dijk, 2001). The local government is not always willing or capable of fulfilling this task on its own, for example because it lacks the required experience of dealing with large-scale redevelopments. The architect can assist the local government in directing the redevelopment process by mediating between the government and the designers. But there are other possible process coordinators. Enschede's local government decided to call in the expertise of management consultancy Twijnstra Gudde during the decision-making phase and engineering consultancy DHV throughout the actual redevelopment of the Van Heekplein. As one of Enschede's public-sector representatives commented:

We hired experts of Twijnstra Gudde and lawyers of Loyens Loeff, etcetera. You don't necessarily want to have those kinds of experts in house. You shouldn't want that, that would cost too much and you don't use them to the fullest extent. You have to call those people in from the market whenever you need them, and let them go after the project is finished. (Public-sector representative II)

DHV assisted the local government as executive by making the contracts with each individual actor regarding the contribution to the construction of the underground parking garage and by leading the meetings between the different parties. The opinions about the performance of these external experts were mixed. One informant, for example, argued:

Without DHV this [*the redevelopment of the Van Heekplein*] would not have been possible. However, I have never actually researched it, but I can imagine that if you would add up all the bills of the involved advisors... I can already tell that a similar development could have been made with substantial lower costs. (Designer III)

In sum, there have been other actors who have influenced the redevelopment of the PPP squares in addition to the three key players discussed in Section 4.3. This includes architects and consultancy agencies, who act as supervisors and advisors in the redevelopment process. However, these assistants were all in service of the local government and/or the developers and investors, who therefore remain the key principals in the redevelopment of the research objects.

### 8.3 Effects of private-sector involvement

Because the private sector is increasingly involved in the redevelopment of public space, it is important to look at the potential consequences of its involvement. We have formulated four possible effects of private-sector involvement derived from the literature review in Section 4.4. These are: 1) an increase in the available *budget* for the design and management of public space,

2) a decrease in the *free access* of public space, 3) more *coherence* between public space and the surrounding buildings, and 4) a more complicated redevelopment *process* (i.e., longer duration, more compromises). These possible effects are discussed with respect to the four research objects in which the private sector was actually involved. Again, the four publicly realised squares (Schouwburgplein, Grote Markt, Markt, and Oude Markt) are only referred to when illustrative for the redevelopment of the PPP squares.

### 8.3.1 Budget

Section 4.4.1 described three different modes of the private sector's financial contribution to the redevelopment of public space: direct, semi-direct, and indirect. The situation of *direct* financial contribution is applicable to the Beurstraverse in Rotterdam. As described earlier, it is developed, owned, and managed by a consortium including the local government, ING Bank, and C&A's pension fund Focas. The financial contribution to the redevelopment differed per member. The local government participated for 21 million guilders (9.52 million euro), the equivalent of the land value of the Beursplein area at the time. The private parties financed the other 7/8 of the total costs. This included the costs of the construction of the shops, but also the design of public space in the form of the sunken mall. The management costs of the Beurstraverse, including maintenance and surveillance, are shared in a similar manner among the consortium members. It is thus a good example of a public(ly accessible) space that is developed and managed by means of direct financial contributions of the private sector.

Private parties can also boost the municipal budget for the project (Section 4.4.1). One of the interviewed representatives of the private sector indicated that his organisation occasionally increases the budget available for redeveloping the public space in front of its property. However, this form of voluntary, *semi-direct* contribution hardly occurs in general. Special assessments that force private parties to contribute were also not applied in the four PPP squares. However, Enschede has levied a tax to redevelop other parts of the city centre including the Oude Markt (Section 6.4.2). During the research, it became clear that such special assessments are highly contested. The local entrepreneurs of the Dutch city Breda appealed against their compulsory contributions to the redevelopment of the city centre. Their argument was that special assessments can only be charged when improvements increase the value of their real estate, for example by upgrading the sewer or electricity network but not by beautifying public space. The Dutch Retail Council (RND) supported their view: "Nowadays, we observe more and more that 'embellishments' are being recouped from the owners of retail premises, of which we seriously wonder if it is all that pretty and necessary ..." (RND, 2007, translation from Dutch by the author). The court ruled in favour of the entrepreneurs in July 2005 and stated that shopkeepers do not have to pay contributions unless there is a crucial change in the design, nature, or extent of their immediate surroundings (RND, 2007). In future redevelopment projects, semi-direct contributions like those used for redeveloping the Oude Markt will thus probably become rare.

The third mode of private-sector involvement refers to situations in which the local government redevelops public space with the development yield raised through the sale of former public space. Such an *indirect* financial contribution has been applied at the Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein (Table 8.3). The Statenplein was reduced in size by the construction of the Nieuwe Blok. The municipality owned the land, which was sold to the private sector to be developed and managed (by respectively Multi and Achmea). At the Van Heekplein, the private actors also had to purchase municipal land to enlarge their property. This not only included land

for the construction of the new Bijenkorf department store, but also the extension of the existing V&D, and the Klanderij shopping centre. The outdated police station located at the Loeffplein was demolished and the vacant site was sold to the private sector in order to create the shopping centre Arena. In all three redevelopment projects, the transaction yield was reinvested in the surrounding public space. However, the interviewed public-sector representatives emphasised that this did not prove to be sufficient. Additional municipal budgets were necessary to supplement the costs of redeveloping public space.

The informants have been asked if they thought private-sector involvement had increased the available budget for the redevelopment of the four projects. The answers differed per project and per group of actors (public versus private sector). With regard to the Beurstraverse, all actors acknowledged the importance of the financial contribution of the private sector. This is not very surprising, since the private sector did directly pay for the costs of the design and management of public space through the consortium. The actors involved in the other three PPP projects were not unanimous. Representatives of the public sector mostly disagreed, stating that the public sector fully financed the project. With regard to the Van Heekplein, one of them commented:

We don't regard the money received from the sale of the land as an increase in resources.

Obviously, it is part of the same plan exploitation, but you don't call that an increase in resources. There have not been specific contributions from the side of the developers.

(Public-sector representative II)

On the other hand, almost all representatives of the private sector claimed to have financially contributed to the redevelopment. One of the private actors involved in the same project argued:

We have contributed via the price of the land. The local government always thinks that they pay for it, but that's by the grace of the land price. If you don't have a viable project, then the land price is zero. From that perspective, the private parties do contribute. The land price increases because we develop a site, give it a function. The authorities have always had the tendency to see that as their own money, but it is money raised from the market. And then we can discuss: has enough money been raised? That's a different discussion, as we have indeed not directly paid for all the paving stones. (Private-sector representative III)

The private sector is convinced that it made a financial contribution, while the public sector disagrees. Apparently, the public and private sector have different interpretations of the indirect financial contribution of the private sector via the sale of the land. While the general idea is that public space of good quality increases the value of the surrounding property (Section 4.3.2), the argument is now turned around by the private sector: buildings of good quality increase the value of the adjacent public space. The investment of the private sector in buildings is thought to have positive externalities for the surrounding public space. The private sector feels it boosts the value of public space by buying municipal land, without really making a direct financial contribution to the refurbishment of public space. The difference in definition is important to emphasise, because it could hamper the communication between the public and private sector.

Overall, it can be concluded that the financial contribution by the private sector remains fairly limited, as the direct contribution to the development of the Beurstraverse has not been copied in the other three PPP projects. However, the private sector's contribution to the redevelopment budget should not be downplayed, despite the lack of direct equity investment in public space:

There is also a compulsive pressure of the private parties on the municipality. Developers say: “We have come all the way from Amsterdam to Enschede to fix up your city, now it’s your turn.” Then the ball starts rolling, and I believe the local government does its very best to make an honest effort. It probably intended to do so anyway, but because of the presence of private parties, it is more or less challenged. (Designer IV)

The private sector can thus enable an increased budget for the design and management of public space even with a limited indirect contribution. Its presence in redevelopment projects can stimulate the local government to invest more capital per square metre than officially determined in the municipal estimates. As such, the involvement of the private sector indeed leads to an increase in the available budget for the design and management of public space.

### 8.3.2 Free access

The second possible effect of private-sector involvement derived from the literature is a decrease in the free access of public space. At first sight, restrictions on access appear to have been imposed in the PPP squares. There is camera surveillance at the Beurstraverse; the management has installed no less than 68 cameras in the 300-metre-long underpass. Parts of the Beurstraverse, Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein are closed off at night. It concerns the passage underneath the Coolsingel (Beurstraverse), and the shopping centres bordering the Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein (respectively the Drievriendenhof, Klanderij, and Arena). Those particular areas are subject to stricter rules than the surrounding public spaces. For example, skating and cycling are not allowed in the Arena and Beurstraverse. The public



Figure 8.1 Signs of regulation at the Beurstraverse

is not always aware of all these rules. When vendors of homeless newspapers first appeared in the Beurstraverse, they were swiftly removed because this was not allowed (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). Another incident occurred when a radio station reported live from the Beurstraverse. The reporters were summoned to leave while they were on the air. Many questions concerning the regulations in force in the Beurstraverse arose from these incidents. To avoid future confrontations, the main house rules were listed at the entrance (Figure 8.1). It is conceivable that the level of security at the Beurstraverse would have been even higher if the local government had not participated in the consortium. The government set several conditions to protect the public character of the complex: the area had to remain accessible to the public at all times; it had to complement rather than compete with the adjacent retail clusters in the city centre; and it had to serve as a portal for the metro (Bergenhengouwen & Van Weesep, 2003). These conditions have kept the Beurstraverse accessible at night (except for the underground part). It would most likely have been closed off completely if the area had entirely been in private hands.

However, at the Statenplein and Van Heekplein, the only limitation on access is their transformation from parking space into pedestrian areas. Large parts of these two squares and the Loeffplein cannot be closed off. They are only governed by the regular local ordinance and there are no surveillance cameras. Consequently, they could not be categorised as secured public space (see Figure 7.5). The involvement of the private sector thus does not automatically lead to restricted access. Ownership proves to be an important explanatory factor. As discussed in Section 1.2, there are various scales from public to private space. Department stores and malls are private property but can be freely visited during opening hours. Malls differ from department stores; they appear more accessible because they also entail publicly accessible space between the shops. However, this space is also private and can thus be subject to regulation and surveillance. In contrast, shopping streets or city squares are mostly owned and managed by the local government, and should be accessible to all. When classifying the four PPP squares, the whole Beurstraverse can be typified as a mall, even though it is not indoors and rather looks like a sunken public street. Technically, the Beurstraverse is a private domain that the public is allowed to use. In that sense, it is not strange that the consortium has set up rules such no cycling. After all, people also do not bring their bikes into a department store. The confusion regarding the Beurstraverse arises because the shopping street is blended into its surroundings; it has no roof or doors to indicate the transition from public to private space. The same applies to the shopping centre Arena. It looks like a public place due to its close connection to the Loeffplein and its outdoor character, but it actually is a privately owned area. The shopping centres Drievriendenhof (Statenplein) and Klanderij (Van Heekplein) cause less confusion, because these are indoors. The stricter regulation and partial closure only apply to these adjacent, privately owned malls in the 'walls' of the squares. The squares themselves are publicly owned and not subject to more control, even though the private sector was involved in the redevelopment. As one of the informants stated: "No, the Statenplein is a public space; in principle everything can happen there that the local government gives permission for. The investors have no influence on that ..." (Public-sector representative III).

During the interviews, both public and private actors generally agreed that private-sector involvement only leads to more control in privately owned places. Many found this reasonable;

they argued that property owners are simply entitled to impose rules on access and behaviour in private areas even if they are publicly accessible. The stricter regulation and surveillance at the Beurstraverse, Drievriendenhof, Klanderij, and Arena are thus generally accepted. There was also consensus that more control is not necessarily bad and does not restrict the accessibility *per se*. According to a private actor, control discourages excesses such as vandalism, and therefore prevents areas from being closed off: loss of control eventually leads to more rigorous measures to limit access, such as (partial) closure. Although other actors did not express this argument, most agreed that when stricter control has been put in place, this is a minor side effect of a major improvement. As one of them commented:

If you ask an average person from Rotterdam what he thinks about the Beurstraverse, he will say it is fantastic. I believe that you have to look very hard to find a single user who feels controlled or restricted in his freedom of action in that area. (Public-sector representative IV)

In addition, one of the informants emphasised that more control in one area is not bad as long as there are other areas that are widely accessible:

As long as there are places where everybody is allowed to come and where everybody can gaze at each other, entertain and even disturb each other, it is understandable that there are also places that – because they fulfil particular functions – exclude certain elements. (Designer II)

The involvement of the private sector thus restricts accessibility of space due to a mix of (partial) closure, surveillance, and a stronger regulation of public space but mostly in enclosed malls that are private property. Outside such areas, public spaces are still in public ownership. The private sector's participation in the redevelopment process has not made these areas less accessible.

### 8.3.3 Coherence

The third possible effect derived from the literature is that the involvement of the private sector leads to more coherence between public space and the built environment. The four PPP squares confirm this effect. Each was based on a comprehensive master plan that integrated buildings and public space. T+T Design was responsible for most of these plans. The exception was the Van Heekplein, which was redeveloped after a plan by West 8 but that also largely drew on T+T's earlier master plan. Separate architects and landscape architects were responsible for designing the new buildings and public spaces, but their designs were frequently discussed in meetings between the local government, developers, investors, and architects. At the Loeffplein, coherence was effectuated because landscape architect Beth Galí, who was appointed to design public space, was also given the opportunity to design the Stoa (Section 6.5.3). The result is a square that is very well connected to one of its walls (Figure 8.2). In case of the Statenplein and Van Heekplein, a supervisor was appointed to oversee if the design of the buildings and public space were not conflicting and were carried out according to the master plan.

Almost unanimously, the interviewed informants agreed upon the private sector's positive influence on the coherence between buildings and public space. Because developers and investors acknowledge that good public space increases the value of their property, they are not only interested in the design of the buildings but also in the surrounding public space. One informant explained:



*Figure 8.2* Coherent Loefflein and Stoa

Those buildings individually, no matter how pretty they are, that's not what's it all about. If that were the case, than no institutional investor would be interested in public space. It's about the constellation of the whole and the coherence with the (semi) public space that determines the quality of the buildings. It has become a precondition, it may even cost money. (Designer I)

The 'constellation' includes, for example, the desired routing of customers and the selection of lighting, trees, and other design elements in relation to the buildings. Developers and investors are very familiar with these issues owing to their experience of developing and managing shopping centres. It thus appears that buildings and public space become more coherent when the private sector joins the redevelopment process and the project is redeveloped as a whole rather than as separate elements.

#### **8.3.4 Process**

The fourth and last possible effect suggests that the involvement of the private sector leads to more complicated redevelopment processes, including a longer duration because of the larger number of actors involved. According to Healey (1998), the complexity of multiple actors can even lead to a complete retraction of the redevelopment plan. Obviously, this does not apply to the PPP squares, which have all been actually redeveloped. However, the duration of the processes was indeed quite extensive. Both on the Statenplein and Van Heekplein, the actual redevelopment was preceded by years of negotiations. In case of the Statenplein, plans to redevelop the square were proposed almost immediately after the square was renewed in 1974.

They were all refuted until V&D and developer Multi came with a new plan to redevelop the square in 1993. From that moment onwards, it took ten years to discuss, design, and construct the new Statenvlein. The redevelopment of the Van Heekplein was also preceded by a number of plans that were never brought to completion. However, after the final decision was made, the actual time between the first plans (1997) and opening of the square (2003) was not that long. The redevelopment of the Loeffplein was even shorter; the square was reopened in 1998 after approximately six years of negotiations and construction. The redevelopment of the Beursplein area took about ten years from the first proposals to the actual realisation. The PPP squares thus show that the discussions about redevelopment can last for decades. However, once the actual team of responsible actors is formed the process may take about six to ten years. It is debatable whether this is a long period. As one of our informants argued:

What is long? It is always good to put it in perspective. There have been phases in our history in which things went very fast; the post-war reconstruction period, and when the rivers nearly flooded we raised all dikes in three years time. Then it was possible. But in general, radical urban projects have been matters of decades, sometimes even centuries. (Private-sector representative IV)

The question is also whether the duration of six to ten years can be blamed on the increased involvement of the private sector. One informant affirmed that having more involved parties implies a longer duration, but that this is unrelated to the actors being public or private. Some even emphasised that the private sector is not delaying but enabling redevelopment, because it takes the initiative or has the required knowledge and investments, without which redevelopment would not be possible in the first place. Moreover, the private sector is better capable of obtaining the required property of people who do not want to participate. The local government cannot easily perform this task, as it essentially has to serve all of its inhabitants. Other informants emphasised that it is rather the local government than the private sector that is responsible for long processes. One proclaimed: “Nearly always, I’m not sure if it’s 100 per cent, but then at least in 99.9 per cent of the cases the municipality causes the delays ...” (Public-sector representative V). This can be ascribed to regulation becoming more complicated. For example, the legislation regarding the increase of fine particles due to redevelopment has led to a standstill of many Dutch upgrading projects, including Achterom/Bagijnhof, the area south of the Statenvlein in Dordrecht (Section 6.3.1). Moreover, the internal procedures of local authorities are often time-consuming, including for example permitting and the co-operation between different departments. In addition, municipal authorities often involve local entrepreneurs and residents in the decision-making process to legitimise their policies. In many Dutch cities, such as in Groningen and Nijmegen, this has led to referendums in which the residents could vote for a particular design for the central square of the city. These issues can all lengthen processes of redevelopment:

The duration of processes is absolutely increasing, but it has a different cause [*than the involvement of the private sector*]. In my view, it is related to the fact that the whole society has become more complex. Everything involves more discussion and people become more assertive. Everybody has a neighbour or uncle who is lawyer. They easily write a letter and people utilise their rights in spatial planning procedures. The regulation is much more complicated, fine particles problems did not exist two or three years ago. Everything has become more complex. (Private-sector representative III)

However, the involvement of the public did not explicitly delay the redevelopment of the PPP squares. Referendums were not held in the redevelopment projects, in which the residents' participation was mostly limited to discussions during walking tours and information meetings. As concluded in Section 8.2.3, this can be explained by the fact that the decision-making processes took place in the 1990s, during which residents' participation was still rather limited:

It [*the redevelopment of the Beursplein*] was still part of the Rotterdam reconstruction tradition, in the sense that: "we are going to develop something whether you like it or not." In that period nobody protested, while now you can go to the Supreme Court with almost every project. (Public-sector representative VI)

When comparing the duration of publicly realised squares with the PPP squares it becomes clear that they also have lengthy processes. The redevelopment of the Schouwburgplein, Grote Markt, Markt, and Oude Markt took on average 6.5 years: respectively 5 (1993-1997), 2 (2004-2005), 8 (1997-2004), and 11 years (1993-2008) calculated from the final decision to redevelop to the actual realisation. The relatively long duration of the Oude Markt and Markt can be explained by the large involvement of local stakeholders in the decision-making process. Both squares are perceived as *the* historic square of the city and therefore induced more involvement than the less controversial Van Heekplein and Loeffplein. In sum, the assumption that the involvement of the private sector delays redevelopment processes can be refuted based on the four PPP squares. Although the duration is relatively lengthy with six to ten years, this should be ascribed to regulation and society's increasing complexity rather than the involvement of the private sector.



Figure 8.3 Compromise at the Statenplein

In addition to a longer duration, private-sector involvement could also lead to more compromises in redevelopment processes. The PPP squares do not support this possible effect either. When asked to specifically name a compromise in the redeveloped public spaces, most of the informants could not think of one. The few concessions that were described were mainly due to the public sector itself. At the Statenplein, for example, the tower of the Nieuwe Blok was originally designed with one extra floor to turn it into a landmark of the city (Figure 8.3). However, the municipal council was afraid the building would become too high and blocked the plan. A public-sector representative was convinced that more compromises in 's-Hertogenbosch arose from discussions with preservation organisations and local committees than from actions by the private sector. Most informants agreed that negotiations between the public and private sector actually improve the quality of the redevelopment project, because discussions lead to creative solutions and a better acknowledgement of each other's standpoints. One actor clarified:

Imagine we [*investment company*] would own the whole city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch. Then we would do a number of things differently, about which we reached a compromise now. Then we would, for example, have created more advertising space for the shopkeepers at the Loeffplein. So now and then you have to make a compromise, but I think that by co-operating like in 's-Hertogenbosch or at the Beurstraverse, the final product is better than when everybody would have worked individually. (Private-sector representative V)

A majority of the informants shared this feeling, which leads to the conclusion that the involvement of the private sector in the redevelopment of public space neither leads to longer processes nor to compromises.

## 8.4 Conclusions

More than ten years ago, Reijndorp and Nio concluded that the Dutch private sector restricted its investments to semi-public spaces such as passages, arcades, and the immediate surroundings of shops and offices. In addition, they claimed that public-private partnerships only lead to private investment in public space when the redevelopment is part of a large-scale urban renewal strategy (Reijndorp & Nio, 1996). The situation does not appear to have changed all that much. The preceding sections have shown that the level and effects of private-sector involvement differ among the four PPP research objects. The Beurstraverse is a unique retail project in the Netherlands. Several of its characteristics were rather unknown at the end of the 1990s, such as the large involvement of developer Multi, the 'private' role of the public sector, and the high level of control in publicly accessible space. The result is deemed a success with many daily visitors who evaluate the Beurstraverse very positively (Section 6.2.3). Nevertheless, there are few imitations in other Dutch city centres; none of the projects in the other three case-study cities resembles the Beurstraverse. It is true that the private sector has played a role in the redevelopment of the Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein. However, it was limited to designing and developing the buildings rather than financing or managing public space (Table 8.3). The direct financial contribution in the development of the Beurstraverse has not been copied in the other PPP squares, where the private sector only contributed by purchasing municipal land. Similarly, it did not become involved in the management of these three public spaces after the redevelopment was completed.

Blank (2007) does not expect that the involvement of the private sector in the redevelopment of Dutch public space will increase in the near future. She argues that the private sector would particularly be attracted to more dilapidated urban areas, where the difference between the current and potential land value (the 'rent gap' – Smith, 1996) is most extensive. However, the rent gap tends to be limited in the Netherlands. Consequently, the value increase of Dutch redevelopment projects is never extremely high and therefore does not induce the private sector to become highly involved in public-space redevelopment on a voluntary basis.

The relatively limited involvement of the private sector can also be ascribed to the behaviour of the local government. The local authorities of Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch have in fact co-operated in several public-private partnerships. 's-Hertogenbosch was actually one of the first Dutch cities in which the public sector participated as risk sharing actor along with the private sector in the development of new office and residential areas such as the Petlapark and the Paleiskwartier (Bruil et al., 2004; Section 6.5.1). It thus had the experience of co-operating with the private sector, but chose to do so only limitedly at the Loeffplein because it was able to redesign the public space through the transaction yield of the police-office site, and did not require more involvement of the private sector. Another informant explained why the local government prefers to engage the private sector in redevelopment projects at the city's edge (e.g., in new residential areas or business parks) rather than in the city centre:

There are a number of residential neighbourhoods in Enschede that are being redeveloped. We have considerable debates with housing associations about who is responsible for public space – also financially. That's a financial necessity, because we [*the local government*] cannot pull off the redevelopment on our own. Sometimes the association finances half of the public space or manages it, but I believe that is justified because public space there is to a large extent part of the residential environment. But if you talk about a city centre where everybody comes to, not only residents but also visitors, that's pre-eminently public space. That should be for everybody, should literally be publicly accessible. I find that a public responsibility. I would find it very undesirable if municipal authorities would refrain from this responsibility. Then you soon get an atmosphere of semi-public space, fences appear, and so on. (Public-sector representative VII)

The notion of urban public space that is used by and accessible to all (in contrast to residential areas that are only frequently used by residents) is prevalent and seems to oppose extensive private-sector involvement in Dutch city centres. But there are more reasons why the example set by the Beurstraverse has not been followed in the redevelopment of the other three PPP squares. According to a private-sector representative, it is also related to the dismissive attitude of the local government, which still holds on to its traditional role of director and refuses to mix private involvement and public interests. He regretted this way of thinking, because a successful redevelopment of public space does not only depend on urban planning by the municipality, but also on market knowledge of shopping, walking routes, etcetera. A representative of the public sector stated that most other Dutch cities are not capable of imitating the Beurstraverse, because they lack the required professionalism and pro-business attitude:

If you are a local government and you have never done such a project, it will become difficult. Because you do not only have troubles getting it through the municipal council, but you also lack competent people to do the job. (Public-sector representative VIII)

In a similar vein, one informant emphasised the difficult judicial issues that needed to be solved to set up the consortium and arrange property rights: “In terms of legal arrangements, it [*the Beursplein*] was a daring exploit because it was so complicated and intricate ...” (Public-sector representative IX). Private-sector involvement in urban development projects thus requires substantial knowledge and the willingness to co-operate on the part of both the public and the private sector. If this is lacking or when there is distrust or miscommunication among the actors (e.g., as a result of the different interpretations of the financial contribution of the private sector discussed in Section 8.3.1), the possibility of successful PPP redevelopment projects in Dutch public space remains limited.



## 9 Conclusions, reflections, and implications

*Space (...) does not simply exist as a 'given' but affects (and is affected by) things which are always becoming. Or, to put it another way, space is not just a passive back-drop to human behaviour and social action, but is constantly produced and remade within complex relations of culture, power, and difference.* Hubbard (2001: 51, original emphasis)

### 9.1 Introduction

Public spaces in Dutch city centres are increasingly subject to facelifts. The car parking that dominated city squares until the 1980s has been removed and replaced by modern street furniture, city stages, and an abundance of sidewalk cafés. At the same time, public spaces are more controlled by camera surveillance and strict regulation. These changes in the urban design and management of public space are not skin-deep, but can be seen as expressions of functional changes that originate from and have consequences for social change. Why and how do these makeovers occur? It has been the central aim of the present study to answer this question; that is, to elucidate the social antecedents (background) of the redevelopment of Dutch city squares and to chart its course (process).

To this end, we have portrayed the historical development and the main current trends in the design and management of Dutch public space in Chapter 2 and 3. In addition, we have investigated the increasing involvement of the private sector in redevelopment processes and have explored to what extent this might affect the design and management of public space (Chapter 4). Through this actor approach, the thesis complements the main body of public-space literature, which tends to focus on the users (the 'demand side') rather than reviewing the role and objectives of the responsible actors (the 'supply side'). The empirical section (Chapter 6-8) outlined the results of case-study research performed in the city centres of Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch. In each of these four cases, the redevelopment of two research objects has been investigated: respectively the Schouwburgplein and Beurstraverse, the Grote Markt and Statenplein, the Oude Markt and Van Heekplein, and the Markt and Loeffplein.

This final chapter summarises and interprets the main findings by elaborating on the metaphor of the city as urban organism. Sections 9.2 through 9.4 present the main conclusions and reflections in relation to the three research questions formulated in Section 1.4. Lastly, we evaluate what the implications of these findings are regarding urban policy (Section 1.5) and future public-space research (Section 1.6).

## 9.2 Development of Dutch city squares

The quotation opening this chapter captures the central notion of the thesis: changing society *vis-à-vis* changing public space. Metaphorically, the notion implies that public space is not static but is rather part of the urban organism of the city that, like the human organism, evolves on a daily basis. As such, the current characteristics of public space are related to the characteristics of society – both at the time of origin and today. To put the recent redevelopment of Dutch city squares in perspective, it is therefore necessary to acquire knowledge of present as well as past developments. To start off with the latter, we have formulated our first research question as follows: *How have the design and management of Dutch city squares evolved through history?* In this section, we compare the theoretical framework offered in Chapter 2 to our empirical results.

The study commenced with a historical overview of the Dutch city square based on a literature review. It showed that squares have been designed for various purposes: the ancient Greek *agora* where people were taught and debated societal issues; the multifunctional medieval market places; and the imposing Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassic squares used to display power. Most Dutch city squares originate from the Middle Ages and have functioned as market place. Unlike in countries such as France and Spain, only a limited number of new squares were constructed during the 17th and 18th century in the Netherlands. This lapse has been related to some specific socio-cultural characteristics such as the Dutch Calvinist ethos that induced people to display wealth indoors rather than in public space. Only few squares were constructed in the 19th and early 20th century. As a result of urban crowding, cities were simply too densely populated to create large open spaces. The main exceptions were squares in front of newly built train stations at the edge of city centres. During the second half of the 20th century, many squares were transformed into parking lots in an attempt to keep the city centre accessible. This was the result of new planning processes that were highly influenced by the modernist philosophy of the *CIAM* movement, which also led to large clearances in the historic structure of cities. The process was reversed in recent decades when it was realised that the increase of car traffic choked the cities instead. Many city squares are now redesigned, pedestrianised, and carefully managed to offer safe and animating spaces to the current consumption-oriented society.

The historical overview of the eight research objects shows that some of them can be seen as archetypes of the development described above. The Oude Markt in Enschede, for example, gradually developed as medieval market place in the 13th century. It was dominated by traffic in the 1960s and 1970s, but meanwhile the square has been repaved and turned into a commercial café square where terraces dominate the space. The Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch has gone through a similar development. The first accounts of this central square date from 1279. Until today, it has served as multifunctional market place. However, from the 1950s to the 1970s the Markt also functioned as parking lot on non-market days. This was reversed in 1979 when the central square was partly pedestrianised. It is currently going through another makeover, which is expected to be completed in November 2008.

Considering the fact that many Dutch city squares originate from the Middle Ages, it is rather striking that six out of our eight research objects only date back to the 20th century. The explanation is that the fine-grained medieval structure of the case-study cities Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch was severely damaged during the Second World War or due to the large-scale *CIAM*-inspired demolition activities in the 1960s. As a result, new public spaces emerged. The Schouwburgplein, Beursplein and Van Oldebarneveltplaats

were laid out in the 1950s as parts of the large-scale plan to reconstruct the heavily bombed city centre of Rotterdam. The latter two were connected to each other by the construction of a new retail underpass named the Beurstraverse in 1996. Similarly, the Van Heekplein came into existence when Enschede was bombed during the war. The square was later enlarged due to the demolition of a textile mill when de-industrialisation set in. The Grote Markt and Statenvleijn in Dordrecht and the Loeffplein in 's-Hertogenbosch resulted from demolition activities in the 1960s. Deteriorated residences were demolished to create access routes to and parking spaces in the city centre.

The origin of these six redesigned research objects thus differs from the 'average' Dutch medieval square. This implies that recent redevelopment tends to occur in public spaces located within or very close to the historic fine-grained city centre, yet lack historicity themselves. In line with the metaphor of the urban organism, these squares are redeveloped with the intention to turn them into the new heart of the city. They were not regarded as such prior to redevelopment. Consequently, they could be thoroughly upgraded without much resistance from the local population, historic preservation groups, and the like. These squares thus offer more freedom to the actors involved in the redevelopment to create spaces that fit the current characteristics of society. In contrast, medieval squares are often seen as the main public spaces of the city whose historic structures should not be exposed to large-scale redevelopment activities. Refurbishment of these medieval public spaces mostly consists of modest adaptations such as repaving the square and improving its lighting. The dynamic relation between a changing society and changing public space thus seems most present in non-historic squares that are subject to more rigorous changes in urban design and management.

### 9.3 Current trends in public space

The historical overview of city squares needs to be extended to developments of contemporary Dutch public space. To this end, two sub-questions were formulated in Section 1.4: *What are the current trends in the design and management of Dutch public space? Which socio-cultural, economic, and political dynamics have induced these trends?* Literature analysis and observations revealed that major investments were made in the last two decades to reinvigorate dilapidated public spaces. Each of these redesigned sites seemed to take one of two directions. The redevelopment led to the creation of *secured* public space, taking steps to increase safety and reducing *fear*. Or it induced *themed* public space, focusing on urban entertainment and evoking *fantasy*. Fear is used in the present study as an indicator of current safety trends in public space, including the rise of surveillance, restraints on loitering, and strict regulation. These trends are visible in the design (e.g., the presence of CCTV and the use of so-called sadistic street furniture) as well as the management of public space (e.g., controlling the behaviour of users by imposing 'house' rules). Similarly, fantasy is used as metaphor to indicate spatial trends like the organisation of events and the growing number of sidewalk cafés in public space.

Section 3.4 traced the societal antecedents of the development of secured and themed public space. They can be categorised in three groups of dynamics: socio-cultural, economic, and political. Socio-cultural dynamics include the growing differentiation of lifestyles and consumption patterns, but also the increasing fear of others and of victimisation. The interests of people become increasingly diverse and can even become competitive. By controlling and

animating public space, the interest of a particular group of users is served most: that of the consumers. Economic explanations for fear and fantasy in public space are grounded in the entrepreneurial policy of municipalities, which increasingly compete to attract the mobile higher-income residents, tourists, investments, and businesses. Upgrading public space thus becomes part of the larger process of creating safe spectacle in the city. The private sector is increasingly involved in these urban development projects. The main political dynamic in contemporary society is this shift from government to governance. Changes in society – be they socio-cultural, economic, or political – have thus led to changes in public space, either directly or indirectly through a changing set of urban policies and involved actors, as indicated in Figure 1.1.

We have compared these literature findings to the empirical results of the case-study research. To find out to what extent the eight research objects could be categorised as secured or themed public spaces, these concepts needed to be operationalised. We devised an analytical tool based on scaling techniques in Section 5.4. Of each research object a six-dimensional diagram was made which depicted its rating on dimensions of fear (i.e., surveillance, restraints on loitering, and regulation) and fantasy (i.e., events, funshopping, and sidewalk cafés). Related to the profile of the diagrams, it was determined to what extent the research objects were subject to aspects of fear and fantasy in their design and management. The fuller the coverage in the upper half of the circle (dimensions 1 to 3), the more the particular place was classified as a secured public space; the fuller the coverage in the lower half (dimensions 4 to 6), the more it was classified as a themed public space. It appeared that the Beurstraverse in Rotterdam and the Loeffplein in 's-Hertogenbosch (including the outdoor shopping centre called Arena) could be categorised as secured public spaces, as they are monitored by an abundance of CCTV, are (partly) closed-off at night, and/or have extra regulation enforced by private security guards in addition to the regular local ordinance. The other research objects (except for the Grote Markt in Dordrecht) can rather be classified as themed public spaces, because these tend to host many events and are characterised by the presence of numerous funshops and sidewalk cafés. The Grote Markt proved to be the exception; due to its low intensity on practically every dimension, it is neither a secured or themed public space. This can be explained by its current function as residential square located close to but not part of the commercial city centre.

The diagrams show that public spaces in both categories also exhibit features found on the opposite side of the circle: spatial elements of fear and fantasy coincide in public space. However, there is no clear-cut mechanism that more fear leads to more fantasy, as is suggested in a number of academic publications. It appears that public spaces that have high ratings on themed dimensions in general have low ratings on secured dimensions and vice versa. Fear and fantasy can thus occur simultaneously in a particular public space, but do not necessarily reinforce each other.

#### **9.4 Private-sector involvement in public-space redevelopment**

According to the academic literature, secured and themed public space is induced by a number of socio-cultural, economic, and political dynamics. Socio-cultural dynamics mostly involve changes in the behaviour and opinion of public-space users or the 'demand side', which we have not investigated in the present research. Economic and political dynamics, on the other hand, largely regard the actions of the parties involved in the restructuring of public space, the so-called

'supply side'. This includes the local government but also such representatives of the private sector as developers, investors, and other kinds of stakeholders. Can the development of secured and themed public space be linked to the composition of the actors responsible for the production of public space, and specifically to the participation of the private sector? In other words: *What are the effects of private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of urban public space in the Netherlands?* This third research question first requires insight in how the private sector is involved and for what reasons (Section 9.4.1), before examining how this involvement has influenced the design and management of public space in Dutch city centres (Section 9.4.2).

#### 9.4.1 Objectives

The historical overview in Section 4.2 has shown that private-sector involvement in the redevelopment of public space is not a recent phenomenon but has waxed and waned over the centuries. In the past decade, we have entered a new stage in which the private sector has become interested in the quality of public space because this can increase the value of its property. Developers are mainly involved in the redevelopment process itself, while the investor plays a leading role after the project is completed. Local authorities are interested in involving the private sector in urban redevelopment projects, because they hope that this results in high-standard public spaces that improve their image and competitive position. As such, local authorities increasingly act in an entrepreneurial fashion. In essence, however, they are responsible for the provision of public goods, including public space. Therefore, redevelopment is also carried out simply because some of the spaces are financially or physically depreciated.

This dual municipal objective can also be distinguished in our case-study cities, for example regarding the redevelopment of the Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch. Parts of this central square are in a depreciated condition and have not been upgraded since the 1970s. To improve this situation, the square is currently being refurbished. However, it is also part of a comprehensive plan to redevelop the entire centre and make the city more attractive in comparison to other cities (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch, 1993). Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Enschede have redeveloped their public spaces with similar entrepreneurial objectives. The cities experienced a decrease in the number of visitors at the beginning of the 1990s. To turn the tide, their local governments decided to formulate new urban policies: the 1985 and 1993 city centre plan of Rotterdam, the 1996 business plan of Dordrecht, and the 1996 city centre handbook of Enschede. The local governments can also be seen as entrepreneurial because they involved the private sector in these redevelopment projects. The Schouwburgplein, Grote Markt, Oude Markt, and Markt were redesigned by the public sector itself (although it did call in the expertise of private designers). Yet the Beurstraverse, Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein are the result of public-private partnerships. Developers and investors became involved in these four so-called PPP squares because the public-space redevelopment coincided with the construction of new buildings, which they respectively developed and became owner of (Table 8.1).

In the future, the roles and objectives of the main participants are expected to become more diffuse (Table 9.1). Interviews with the members of the advisory team (set up to guide our research, see Section 5.3.2) but also previously mentioned publications (e.g., Ibelings, 2004; Lohof & Reijndorp, 2006; AIR, 2007) have shown that the public and private sector increasingly have similar roles and objectives. The local government has traditionally looked after the long-term quality of public space. However, this typical long-term view of the public sector is fading due to the societal dynamics described in Section 3.4. In contrast, the private sector – known for

its short-term participation – is involved for a longer period of time. Consequently, it becomes more interested in the quality and use of public space. Intersecting interests arise: municipal governments aim to capture capital flows, while developers and investors want to diversify their portfolio structure and seek investment opportunities.

Not only the division of labour between the public and private sector becomes more diffuse, but also the roles of the private sector itself. The developer is expected to have a stronger presence in the post-redevelopment phase, while the private investor will become increasingly active during the early stages of redevelopment. Investors get involved earlier, thereby reassuring property developers that they will be able to sell the finished structure. Ties with investors can also assure developers of higher prices, since investors tend to pay more if they can influence the outcome. Moreover, investors can assist developers with designing buildings and public spaces. Crucially, they often have more practical experience with property management and maintenance. This experience has even induced some investors to take on the redevelopment themselves using in-house staff. The opposite is also occurring, as some developers decide to not sell their project after completion but manage it themselves. As a result of the changing roles of actors involved in public-space redevelopment, the co-operation between the local government and the private sector is expected to shift from *unicentric* to *pluricentric* (Table 9.1). In this future situation, the actors have parallel interests and none of them is dominant in the redevelopment process.

However, this expectation is not confirmed by our empirical results; the four PPP research objects in which the private sector was involved show no signs of this transition. It is true that the municipal authorities of the case-study cities have shared tasks in the different stages of redevelopment and are no longer the only actor responsible for public space (see Tables 8.2-8.4). But the roles of the developer and investor still prove to be rather traditional. The developer is mainly active in the (re)development phase, the investor after the (re)development is finished. There are some exceptions such as the investors who (re)developed their own property at the

Table 9.1 Changing roles of actors involved in public-space redevelopment

Stage	Actors	Past/present ( <i>unicentric</i> )	Future ( <i>pluricentric</i> )
During (re) development	Municipality	Responsible for development of public space	Still often initiator of development of public space, but not necessarily the only responsible actor
	Developer	Responsible for development of buildings	Responsible for development of buildings and increasingly of public space
	Investor	Not actively involved	Sometimes involved as developer, expert, principal or financier (in case of future ownership)
After (re) development	Municipality	Responsible for the management of public space	Responsible for the management of public space, sometimes in co-operation with other organisations (e.g., civil safety guards, police, private security companies)
	Developer	Not actively involved	Sometimes involved as manager of buildings
	Investor	Responsible for the management of buildings	Responsible for the management of buildings and increasingly of public space

Source: Interviews with advisory team, 2005

Van Heekplein (i.e., Foruminvest, Holland Casino, VendexKBB, and Powinko), but this does not seem to have had much effect on the design and management of public space.

In general, the co-operation between the local government and the private sector in the case-study cities was rather unicentric. Except for the Beurstraverse, the role of the municipal authorities was still extensive regarding all redevelopment tasks, especially concerning process and maintenance. The tasks were shared more equally among the public and private sector with regard to the design and financing of public space. Overall, however, the role of the private sector was limited in Dordrecht, Enschede, and 's-Hertogenbosch; at least regarding the redevelopment of urban public space. Possible explanations expressed during the interviews are the fear of (semi-) privatisation and the lack of municipal experience with public-private partnerships and/or large-scale redevelopment projects (Section 8.4). If these issues are not addressed, local governments might well desire an entrepreneurial approach to public-space redevelopment but fail to bring about successful PPP projects in reality (see also policy implications in Section 9.5.1).

#### 9.4.2 Effects

Although the involvement of the private sector proved to be limited in the redevelopment of the research objects, its participation has still influenced their design and management. Based on the literature review in Section 4.4, we have formulated four possible effects of private-sector involvement: 1) an increase in the available *budget* for the design and management of public space, 2) a decrease in the *free access* of public space, 3) more *coherence* between public space and the surrounding buildings, and 4) a more complicated redevelopment *process* (i.e., longer duration, more compromises). The interviews with the key actors involved in the redevelopment of the PPP squares revealed that the private sector indeed contributed to the budget for the design and management of the Beurstraverse in Rotterdam. However, this direct contribution turned out to be exceptional as it did not occur in the other three PPP squares. The private sector's financial involvement in these projects was limited to indirect contributions via the price paid for the land. Interestingly, private-sector representatives regarded these indirect contributions as tangible financial payments, while the public sector did not. The different interpretations of the financial contribution of the private sector do not seem to have led to miscommunication and resentment among the actors in our research objects. However, hypothetically they could hamper redevelopment processes (see also Section 9.5.1). With respect to the freedom of access to public space, the informants stated that private-sector involvement leads to restricted accessibility, but only in areas that are private rather than public space. This mostly concerns shopping malls that are closed at night and are subject to strict regulation such as the Beurstraverse and the Arena at the Loeffplein. Outside these areas, public space is still public; that is, without extra regulation in addition to the local ordinance and accessible to all. According to the informants, private-sector involvement improves the coherence between buildings and public space and has no negative effect on the duration of redevelopment processes. Co-operation between the public and private sector does not lead to compromises but rather improves the overall quality of public space.

The informants generally agreed that private-sector involvement does not automatically lead to the development of secured or themed public space. To check this statement, we have compared the six-dimensional diagrams of the publicly realised squares (i.e., the Schouwburgplein, Grote Markt, Oude Markt, and Markt) to the PPP research objects (i.e., the Beurstraverse, Statenplein, Van Heekplein, and Loeffplein) in Figure 7.5. Without exception, the PPP research objects – all of them retail squares – have high ratings on the dimension

'funshopping'. At the same time, they tend to have low ratings on 'sidewalk cafés' and 'events', and can thus not be regarded as typical themed public spaces. The publicly realised squares have more varied intensities on themed dimensions depending on their main function; the café square Oude Markt has high ratings on 'sidewalk cafés', while the cultural Schouwburgplein has low ratings on this dimension but high ones on the dimension 'events'.

With regard to the level of security, there are no obvious differences between public and PPP squares. The Beurstraverse rates high on secured dimensions, while other PPP squares such as the Van Heekplein and Statenvleugel do not. Similarly, some publicly realised squares have low intensities regarding secured dimensions like the Markt, while others have a medium to high intensity of surveillance or regulation (i.e., the Oude Markt and Schouwburgplein). These publicly owned spaces also seem to be increasingly monitored. We can therefore conclude that the development of secured and themed public space is not an effect of private-sector involvement. It is rather the outcome of a general tendency towards greater control and predictability of activities in both in PPP *and* publicly realised spaces. As such, fear and fantasy cannot only be seen as indications of trends in the design and management of secured and themed space, but also as metaphors of the objective of those involved in urban redevelopment: to manipulate the public realm by creating safe and spectacular spaces in order to attract the desired consumers.

## 9.5 Policy implications

The study's central notion of a changing society and changing public space does not necessarily argue in favour of constant adjustments of public space to societal changes. It can be argued that public space should have a neutral character, allowing it to be durable and flexible at the same time. After all, user profiles and lifestyles change quicker than the physical environment. Redevelopment of public space is necessary to comply with these changing demands, but is it possible or desirable if meanings and uses are so liable to change, and if the individual demands in fact prove to be conflicting? It is also questionable whether physical changes will actually result in the desired behaviour and use of public space. Urban policies should take these considerations into account and carefully examine how and for whom public space needs to be adapted over time, and how potential conflicts can or should be spatially separated.

The involvement of the private sector in the redevelopment of public space also needs further questioning in urban policy. In addition to the possible effects discussed above, private-sector involvement could effectuate two seemingly contradictory processes: the *differentiation* and *homogenisation* of the city centre. The empirical study has shown that the private sector mainly participates when the redevelopment involves the construction of a new retail complex. Because the new construction is expected to yield high returns, the private sector is willing to also invest in the associated public space. In contrast, it does not participate when the redevelopment only entails repaving and other cosmetic changes in the design of public space. This is an important finding because it suggests that private-sector investment may be limited to a certain type of public space: the retail square. The involvement of the private sector at one location and its absence at another might lead to a *differentiation* of quality between urban spaces in terms of investment. This did not occur in our case-study cities because the redevelopment was not limited to the PPP research objects only. As discussed in Section 6.6, the four cities applied a comprehensive approach and redeveloped their centre as a whole rather than piecemeal. The

redevelopment of the PPP squares was combined with the upgrading of the remaining public spaces by the local government itself. This is possible in a welfare state in which the government still plays a fundamental role in the provision of public goods, including public space. In addition, differentiation between public spaces as a result of private-sector involvement is not yet extensive due to the limited financial involvement of the private sector. These aspects are not expected to change in the near future but could become problematic in the long run. If at a certain stage (some) retail would be leaving the city centre, public space would be negatively affected because the private capital that could be invested in public space would also be disappearing. The exclusive focus of the private sector on the retail sector thus provides public-space redevelopment projects with a rather limited – and thus fragile – foundation.

Another reason why the desirability of private-sector involvement in city centre redevelopment can be questioned is the possibility of *homogenisation* on consumerist and aesthetics grounds in terms of the design and management of public space. These could look more and more alike due to interurban competition and city marketing that results in "...using similar 'tools' in an attempt to create differences ..." (Spierings, 2006: 199). Many redevelopment projects follow patterns that replicate previous developments that are considered successful. In addition, Dutch city centres appear increasingly similar due to retail franchising. The same chains and franchises can now be found in almost every city centre because only they can afford the rising rent prices. A few large retail corporations own these stores such as AS Watson Group (owning ICI Paris and the Kruidvat) and Maxeda (owning the Hema, V&D, Bijenkorf, Praxis, Claudia Sträter, and Hunkemöller). Private-sector involvement might further increase the homogenisation process with regard to public space, because – in addition to the few retail corporations – a relatively small group of developers and investors become responsible for the production of public space in Dutch cities. This was also evident in the research, which showed that some of the developers, investors, and architects appeared to be involved in multiple cases. This dominance is not necessarily bad, since the involved actors are very experienced. Yet it could lead to similar design and management outcomes in the built environment and public space throughout Dutch city centres. On the basis of his research, Allen (2006), for example, concludes that the intrusion of the market into the public realm has undermined the variety and uniqueness of urban centres.

The case-study research has shown that private-sector involvement still proved to be relatively limited. As a consequence, the question arises whether private-sector involvement should be actively promoted in the Netherlands. Policy instruments applied abroad such as incentive zoning and compulsory contributions to the management of public space within business improvement districts are not common in the Netherlands. Those compulsory contributions that have been applied in the past – the special assessments – have turned out to be challenged and will likely become rare in the future (see Section 8.3.1). Local governments in the Netherlands have thus little experience in inducing the private sector to contribute to the design and management of public space. Our research results suggest that the co-operation between the public and private sector can best be enhanced by clear communication rather than merely trying to copy policy instruments that have been successful abroad. As described above, the use of different interpretations of what constitutes a financial contribution by the private sector might lead to resentment among the actors and could hamper redevelopment processes. It is therefore recommended that well-defined financial agreements between public and private actors are made early in the process to avoid different understandings of the private sector's

financial contribution to the design and management of public space. Good communication can also further increase the awareness of each other's motives, capabilities, and intersecting interests.

In addition, the local government must find a balance between directing the private sector too much or too little. International examples show that the private sector is more willing to invest in public space when it also (partially) controls its development. Curbing the private sector's actions too much might hamper its involvement in public-space redevelopment. Not curbing it enough, on the other hand, might lead to public spaces that only serve a particular part of the public: the consumers. The local governments of our cases seem to have found this balance as their city centres have been thoroughly upgraded with support of the private sector but without the large-scale exclusion of certain user groups. Public spaces are part of a larger urban structure and serve not only the surrounding property but also a general societal interest. As such, it will remain an important task of the local government to carefully monitor public-space redevelopment processes, particularly when the private sector is involved.

## 9.6 Implications for future public-space research

Most of the 50 largest Dutch cities have started to redevelop their central squares in the 1990s. This has resulted in many renewed public spaces such as those described in the present study. However, many cities – including the ones we have investigated – keep on redeveloping other urban public spaces. 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, is still in the midst of upgrading the Markt. Dordrecht is now focussing on redeveloping the Achterom/Bagijnhof, the area south of the Statenplein. In turn, Enschede is creating a Music Quarter including a new square north from the Oude Markt. Rotterdam expects to finish the redevelopment of the large Binnenrotte in 2010 and is planning to develop a second retail underpass adjacent to the Beurstraverse in 2012. Redevelopment of public space is thus still in full swing both in the larger cities as well as in smaller towns. The private sector is involved in a number of these redevelopment projects. We have contributed to the existing public-space literature by exploring the background and effects of such private-sector involvement, but as redevelopment projects continue to evolve, future research must do so to. There are a number of matters that could specifically be addressed.

As discussed in Section 9.4.2, private-sector involvement does not necessarily lead to the development of secured public space. After all, while the Beurstraverse has high ratings on secured dimensions, other PPP squares do not. However, as also noted in the same section, the Beurstraverse is the only research object in which the private sector directly contributed to the financing of public space. This suggests that private-sector involvement can in fact lead to restricted access, if the private sector is also directly involved in financing the redevelopment – and thus runs more risks. Further research is required to shed more light on this relation between direct private-sector financial contributions and restricted access. This should go beyond the focus of the present research (i.e., squares in the city centre) and also include other kinds of publicly accessible spaces in which the private sector is involved, such as indoor shopping centre atriums and traffic hubs like airports and train stations. As Smithsimon (2008: 330) recently claimed: "... additional examples of such a link [between developer's objectives and design elements] are needed to more fully characterize the influence of private developers on public-space design ...".

If the relation between restricted access and direct financial contribution of the private sector proves to exist, future research should then focus on social exclusion: public space is becoming

more restricted due to private-sector involvement – but for whom and at whose expense? We agree with Atkinson (2003), who argues that it would be too simplistic to assert that securing and animating public space only benefits the affluent. Groups that are excluded from one public space might actually be the desired users of another. In Rotterdam, for example, skateboarding is not allowed in the Beurstraverse and Schouwburgplein, but welcomed in the nearby skate park Westblaak, a telling example of the fragmentation of urban society and the allocation of public space to a particular public to separate potentially conflicting uses. According to Allen (2006), closure in some of the more recently privatised public spaces is achieved in decidedly modest ways through a ‘logic of seduction’ rather than gates and guards. He therefore argues that research on the effects of private-sector involvement should take into account all the more subtle ways of managing who visits public space and should focus on processes of inclusion rather than exclusion: “Without the usual measures of social control and spatial exclusion – CCTV, uniformed staff, behaviourist principles of design and such – power works through the experience of the space itself, through its inclusive ambience ...” (Allen, 2006: 452). Private-sector involvement can thus influence the design and management of public space in ways alternative to the ones described in the present research. As the private sector’s role in urban redevelopment projects is likely to increase in the future, these alternative methods also need to be closer scrutinised.

In addition, more variation in the actor composition is desirable in future public-space research. As described in Section 5.3.1, the limited diversity of the actors was an unintended outcome of the selection procedure. The dominance of Multi, T+T Design, and some other parties (West 8, ING Bank) might have influenced the research findings. To verify whether this has occurred, future research objects should include other developers, investors, architects, landscape architects, and other kinds of stakeholders. The idea is not to simply involve a larger number of actors in the research, but to obtain a broader recognition of who is involved in urban redevelopment. This also includes the participation of housing associations and local residents, which have not been analysed in the present study. Some of our informants as well as a number of publications (e.g., Lohof & Reijndorp, 2006; AIR, 2007) have argued that these actors are increasingly involved in the design and management of residential neighbourhoods at the edge of the city. Are local residents of the city centre also inclined to become involved in redevelopment projects, or is citizen participation in the design and management of public space difficult to establish here due to the many conflicting interests, higher levels of anonymity, and fear of the freeriders problem?

In general, future research should provide more insight in how public spaces function and which user groups they attract and facilitate. By doing so, future research can contribute to the important question how public space can be improved. After all, human organs cannot function without the connecting tissue. In the same vein, the city centre needs good public space for the built environment, including retail, housing, and offices, to function properly. The private sector can play an important role in this, since the successful redevelopment of public space does not only depend on urban planning by the municipality, but also on market knowledge of shopping and walking routes. More academic research on the effects of the private sector on this ‘urban tissue’ is therefore indispensable.



# Glossary

- Chief Government Architect (*Rijksbouwmeester*) stimulates the quality of architecture in the Netherlands, not only where it concerns the central government of the Netherlands, but also beyond. In carrying out this task, the Chief Government Architect assumes an independent position. He advises the government on architectural policy and government housing. Mels Crouwel is the current Rijksbouwmeester, Kees Rijnbouts occupied the position 1989-1995. See: [www.rijksbouwmeester.nl/english/index.html](http://www.rijksbouwmeester.nl/english/index.html)
- Council of State (*Raad van State*) advises the Dutch government and parliament on legislation and governance and is the country's highest administrative court. See: [www.raadvanstate.nl](http://www.raadvanstate.nl)
- Court of Audit (*Rekenkamer*) investigates whether Dutch public funds are collected and spent regularly and effectively. It is independent of the government and Parliament, deciding for itself what to audit, how to do so, and what to publish. See: [www.rekenkamer.nl](http://www.rekenkamer.nl)
- CVAH merchant association (*Centrale Vereniging voor de Ambulante Handel*) that unites all market, river and street vendors of the Netherlands since 1921. It is a unique combination of an employers' association and interest group. See: [www.cvah.nl](http://www.cvah.nl)
- dS+V abbreviation of the Department of Urban Planning and Housing (*Dienst Stedenbouw en Volkshuisvesting*) of the City of Rotterdam. See: [www.dvs.rotterdam.nl](http://www.dvs.rotterdam.nl)
- ERDF abbreviation of European Regional Development Fund (*Europees Fonds voor Regionale Ontwikkeling, EFRO*) aims to promote regional development. Therefore, it contributes towards financing productive investment leading to the creation or maintenance of jobs, infrastructure, and local development initiatives and the business activities of small and medium-sized enterprises. See: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l60015.htm>
- FCE association of local entrepreneurs in Enschede (*Federatie Centrumondernemers Enschede*). No website available.
- Multi property company of Dutch origin, which develops, owns and operates shopping centres, offices and mixed-use projects in Europe. The company was first called Multivastgoed. Later it was renamed AM Development or AM Vastgoed. In February 2006, the company was renamed again as a result of a new financial structure with the Morgan Stanley Real Estate Fund. Its current name is Multi Corporation. When referring to this company in the chapters, the name 'Multi' is consistently applied even when in the period referred to the official name of the company was Multivastgoed or AM Development. See: [www.multi-development.com](http://www.multi-development.com)
- NRW Dutch council of shopping centres (*Nederlandse Raad voor Winkelcentra, NRW*), which was established in 1986 as non-for-profit organisation to coordinate businesses and institutions that are involved in shopping centres. It serves as a network, in which knowledge transfer takes place. The council arranges lunch meetings and fieldtrips, and offers an annual award to the best shopping centre of the year. See: [www.nrw.nl](http://www.nrw.nl)
- Platform for city centre management (*Platform Binnenstadsmanagement*) was established in 1995. It is a network of 55 Dutch and Belgian cities that have implied an active city centre

management (often consisting the municipality and local entrepreneurs). The platform aims to promote city centre management by exchanging information and experience between member-cities of the network. See: [www.binnenstadsmanagement.org](http://www.binnenstadsmanagement.org)

RND abbreviation of the Dutch retail council (*Raad Nederlandse Detailhandel*). The RND is the central coordinating employers' organisation in retail trade. It represents most of the chain stores. See: [www.raadnederlandsedetailhandel.nl](http://www.raadnederlandsedetailhandel.nl)

SGB abbreviation of Social Geographical Office (*Sociaal Geografisch Bureau*), which performs investigations, evaluates policies and provides forecasts for the City of Dordrecht and surroundings (the so-called 'Drecht-cities' and southern part of the province Zuid-Holland). See: [www.sociaalgeografischbureau.nl](http://www.sociaalgeografischbureau.nl)

TRN abbreviation of marketing and promotion organisation Tourism Recreation Netherlands (*Toerisme Recreatie Nederland*), which was renamed Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions (*Nederlands Bureau voor Toerisme & Congressen, NBTC*) in 2004. Its mission is to promote tourism and business travel to and within the Netherlands. To this end, NBTC develops innovative marketing and promotion services world wide, including international events and theme years, providing added value for partners in the tourism, business travel and public sectors and visitors to Holland. See: [www.trnet.nl](http://www.trnet.nl)

V&D (*Vroom & Dreesmann*) a chain of 60 department stores located in medium to large Dutch cities. The first store was opened in Amsterdam in 1887. See text box in Chapter 8 and [www.vd.nl](http://www.vd.nl)

# Appendix A Interviews and focus group meetings

*Table A.1* Interviews with members of the advisory team

Name	Function	Date	Location
Beumer, H.	Head of department Urbanism and Planning: City of Utrecht	01-07-05	Utrecht
Mik, G.	Deputy: Province of Utrecht	25-05-05	Utrecht
Ophuis, H.	Landscape architect: KuiperCompagnons	04-07-05	Rotterdam
Roozendaal, J.	Head of department Research & Concepts NW Europe: ING Real Estate Development	30-05-05	The Hague
Ruigrok, A.	Manager Research & Concepts: Multi Corporation	19-05-05	Gouda
Speetjens, J.W.	Head of department Market Research: Corio Retail Nederland	28-06-05	Utrecht
Ter Sluis, P.	WPM Planontwikkeling	09-06-05	's-Hertogenbosch
Van der Wouden, R.	Researcher and managing director: Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research (RPB)	15-06-05	The Hague
Vos, D.	Senior manager Research & Strategy: Redevco Europe Services	01-06-05	Amsterdam

*Table A.2* Focus group meetings with members of the advisory team

Date	Location	Agenda
04-03-2005	Utrecht	Opening: introduction participants, description research aims, discussion on diversity of the city centre and functionality of city squares
16-12-2005	Utrecht	Selection of case studies I: comments of participants on five preliminary cases, which resulted in the decision to make an inventory of redeveloped city squares to guide the selection process
19-05-2006	Utrecht	Selection of case studies II: discussion and completion of the inventory of redeveloped city squares (Appendix B)
11-05-2007	Utrecht	Research results: discussion on preliminary results of the case study research

Table A.3 Case-study interviews on Rotterdam

Actor	Name	Function	Date	Location
Public sector	Aarts, M.	Head of department Town Planning and Housing (dS+V): City of Rotterdam	30-08-06	Rotterdam
	Beijer, G.	Former head: OntwikkelingsBedrijf Rotterdam, now partner: Boer & Croon	30-10-06	Amsterdam
	Freie, J.	Development manager: OntwikkelingsBedrijf Rotterdam	18-08-06	Rotterdam
	Linthorst, J.	Former alderman: City of Rotterdam, now chairman: UWV	24-11-06	Amsterdam
	Platier, L.	Former jurist: OntwikkelingsBedrijf Rotterdam	01-12-06	Rhoon
	Prinsenbergh, L.	Development manager profit-projects: OntwikkelingsBedrijf Rotterdam (OBR)	01-11-06	Rotterdam
	Soeterbroek, M.	Planner of department Town Planning and Housing (dS+V): City of Rotterdam	18-08-06	Rotterdam
	Volk, R.	Former city developer municipality of Rotterdam	17-11-06	Rotterdam
Private sector	Kijftenbelt, R.	Manager shopping centres: Actys Retail	05-12-06	Utrecht
	Ruigrok, A.	Manager Research & Concepts: Multi Corporation	06-09-06	Gouda
	Vermaas, J.	Managing Director Retail: ING Real Estate Investment Management	25-09-06	The Hague
Design	De Bruijn, P.	Architect: De Architecten Cie	12-12-06	Amsterdam

Table A.4 Case-study interviews on Dordrecht

Actor	Name	Function	Date	Location
Public sector	Sas, C.	Former alderman of spatial planning: City of Dordrecht	26-09-06	Dordrecht
	Van der Zwaan, B.	Former alderman of economic affairs: City of Dordrecht	14-11-06	Dordrecht
	Van Gangelen, H.	Former director city centre, now director municipal development: ROM-D	14-11-06	Dordrecht
Private sector	Van Klinken, N.	Project manager: City of Dordrecht	26-09-06	Dordrecht
	De Jong, H.	Former developer: Multi Corporation, now partner: Provast	01-09-06	The Hague
	Koevoets, H.	Real estate expert: Maxeda (formerly known as VendexKBB)	30-10-06	Amsterdam
Design	Michon, J.	Managing director: Shopping Center Management	05-10-06	Houten
	Geurtsen, R.	Director and architect: Rein Geurtsen & Partners – bureau voor stadsontwerp	09-11-06	By phone
	Meijer, F.	Senior landscape architect: MTD Landschapsarchitecten	10-11-06	's-Hertogenbosch
	Rijnboutt, K.	Architect: Rijnboutt Van der Vossen Rijnboutt	09-11-06	Utrecht
	Trimp, P.	Architect: T+T Design	06-10-06	Gouda
	Van Keulen, N.	Senior landscape architect: MTD Landschapsarchitecten	10-11-06	's-Hertogenbosch

*Table A.5* Case-study interviews on Enschede

Actor	Name	Function	Date	Location
Public sector	De Jong, T.	Project manager: City of Enschede	23-11-06	Enschede
	Helder, E.	Alderman of economic affairs: City of Enschede	23-11-06	Enschede
	Schröder, H.	Town planner: City of Enschede	21-11-06	Enschede
	Van den Hanenburg, G.	City centre project manager: City of Enschede	21-11-06	Enschede
Private sector	De Jong, H.	Former developer: Multi Corporation, now partner: Provast	01-09-06	The Hague
	Koevoets, H.	Real estate: expert Maxeda (formerly known as VendexKBB)	30-10-06	Amsterdam
	Reulink, R.	Developer and managing director retail developments: Multi Corporation	04-10-06	Gouda
Design	Van Kreel, P.	Director acquisition real estate: Interpolis	18-12-06	Zoetermeer
	Hartzema, H.	Former designer: West8, now director and designer: Studio Hartzema	11-12-06	Rotterdam
	Rijnboutt, K.	Architect: Rijnboutt Van der Vossen Rijnboutt	09-11-06	Utrecht
	Trimp, P.	Architect T+T Design	06-10-06	Gouda
	Voogt, W.	Landscape architect: OKRA Landschapsarchitecten	15-12-06	Utrecht

*Table A.6* Case-study interviews on 's-Hertogenbosch

Actor	Name	Function	Date	Location
Public sector	Buitink, J.	Project manager city development: City of 's-Hertogenbosch	21-08-06	's-Hertogenbosch
	Dona, H.	Former alderman of city development: City of 's-Hertogenbosch	02-10-06	's-Hertogenbosch
	Eugster – van Bergeijk, J.	Alderman of spatial planning: City of 's-Hertogenbosch	06-12-06	's-Hertogenbosch
	Van der Made, W.	Director city development: City of 's-Hertogenbosch	11-12-06	's-Hertogenbosch
Private sector	Bertrums, T.	Chairman: association of local entrepreneurs 'Hartje Den Bosch'	16-11-06	's-Hertogenbosch
	Kijftenbelt, R.	Manager shopping centres: Actys Retail	05-12-06	Utrecht
	Ruigrok, A.	Manager Research & Concepts: Multi Corporation	06-09-06	Gouda
	Vermaas, J.	Managing Director Retail: ING Real Estate Investment Management	25-09-06	The Hague
Design	Trimp, P.	Architect: T+T Design	06-10-06	Gouda
	Van Esch, J.	Public space designer: City of 's-Hertogenbosch	21-08-06	's-Hertogenbosch

## Appendix B Overview of redesigned city squares in Dutch city centres

*Table B.1* Characteristics of redesigned city squares located in the 50 largest Dutch cities

(1) City <sup>a</sup>	(2) Population <sup>b</sup>	(3) Name of square	(4) Function <sup>c</sup>	(5) Actors <sup>d</sup>	(6) Type <sup>e</sup>	(7) Size <sup>f</sup>	(8) Year <sup>g</sup>
Alkmaar	94,445	Canadaplein	Cultural	Public	I	L	2002
		Paardenmarkt	Residential	PPP	VIII	S	2008*
Almelo	72,048	Stadhuisplein	Civil	Public	IV	S	2006
Almere	178,466	Grote Markt	Café	Public	III	L	1998
Amstelveen	78,774	Plein 1960	Retail	PPP	VI	S	2003
Amsterdam	743,079	Dam	Civil	PPP	VIII	XL	2001
		Mercatorplein	Retail	PPP	VI	L	1998
Arnhem	142,195	Korenmarkt	Café	PPP	VII	S	1996
Bergen op Zoom	65,767	Gouvernementsplein	Retail	Public	II	S	1999
		Grote Markt	Retail	Public	II	M	2002
Breda	169,709	Brabantplein	Retail	Public	II	L	2005
		Dr. Struykenplein	Retail	PPP	VI	M	2010*
Delft	95,090	Markt	Café	Public	III	L	2004
Dordrecht	118,821	Grote Markt	Parking	Public	IV	M	2005
		Statenplein	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2002
Ede	107,048	Markt	Retail	Public	II	M	2005
		Kerkplein	Civil	Public	IV	S	2006
		Raadhuisplein	Civil	Public	IV	M	2006
Eindhoven	209,172	18 Septemberplein	Retail	PPP	V	L	2006
Enschede	154,377	Oude Markt	Café	Public	III	M	2004
		Van Heekplein	Retail	PPP	VI	XL	2003
Gouda	71,386	Markt	Retail	Public	II	L	2002
Groningen	181,613	Grote Markt	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2012*
Haarlemmermeer	135,136	Raadhuisplein	Cultural	PPP	V	M	2009*
Heerlen	91,499	Bongerd	Retail	Public	II	M	2007
		Pancratiusplein	Café	Public	III	L	2007
		Wilhelminaplein	Retail	Public	II	S	2007
Helmond	85,682	Markt	Retail	Public	II	L	2008*
Hengelo	81,299	Markt/Telgen	Retail	Public	II	L	1990s
's-Hertogen-bosch	134,717	Burg. Loeffplein	Retail	PPP	VI	S	1998
		Markt/Pensmarkt	Retail	Public	II	M	2008*
Hilversum	83,652	Kerkbrink	Café	Public	III	M	2006
		Langgewenst	Retail	Public	II	L	>2008
Hoorn	67,846	Kerkplein	Retail	Public	II	L	2005
Leeuwarden	91,817	Wilhelminaplein	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2011

(1) City <sup>a</sup>	(2) Population <sup>b</sup>	(3) Name of square	(4) Function <sup>c</sup>	(5) Actors <sup>d</sup>	(6) Type <sup>e</sup>	(7) Size <sup>f</sup>	(8) Year <sup>g</sup>
Leiden	118,069	Weddesteegplein	Civil	PPP	VIII	M	2006
Maastricht	120,175	Markt	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2007
		Vrijthof	Civil	PPP	VIII	XL	2003
Nijmegen	159,522	Mariënburg	Retail	PPP	VI	S	2000
		Plein 1944	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2009*
Purmerend	72,922	Koemarkt	Retail	Public	II	L	2010
Roosendaal	77,703	Nieuwe Markt	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2008*
Rotterdam	588,697	Beurstraverse	Retail	PPP	VI	L	1996
		Binnenrotte	Retail	PPP	VI	XL	2009*
		Schouwburgplein	Cultural	Public	I	XL	1997
		Buitenhof	Café	Public	III	M	2007
The Hague	475,627	Koningsplein	Residential	Public	IV	L	2003
		Plein	Civil	Public	IV	L	1998
		Pieter Vreedeplein	Retail	PPP	VI	L	2008
Tilburg	200,380	Neude	Café	Public	III	L	1998
Utrecht	265,151	Vredenburg	Retail	PPP	VI	XL	2012*
		Oude Markt	Café	PPP	VII	M	2010*
Zoetermeer	116,979	Stadhuisplein	Civil	Public	IV	M	2006
Zwolle	113,078	Grote Markt	Retail	Public	II	M	2006
		Rodetorenplein	Cultural	PPP	V	L	2009*

<sup>a</sup> The cities in column 1 are the 50 largest Dutch municipalities on 1 January 2006 (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007). Not all of the 50 cities are represented, as some do not have a recently redesigned square.

<sup>b</sup> Refers to the total size of population on 1 January 2006, based on Statline, CBS (in: Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007).

<sup>c</sup> Refers to the *current* observed function of the *ground floor* of the surrounding buildings (if mixed, the most dominant function in terms of numbers is chosen). Residential functions above shops or cafés are relatively common in the Netherlands. However, because users of public space seldom look up or visit the upper floors, the function of the ground floor is more apparent than the function of the upper floors. Because the variable is based on the function of the surrounding buildings instead of the function of the square itself, the variable function is less sensitive to seasonal changes. The categories are similar to the ideal types of squares described in Table 5.1 (i.e., cultural, retail, café, civil, residential, and parking).

<sup>d</sup> Refers to the actors involved in the upgrading process. The two categories are similar to the categories in Table 5.1 (i.e., public and PPP). PPP only refers to the involvement of equity participants including property developers and investors. Non-equity participants (e.g., architects and building contractors) are nearly always present in redevelopment processes. If these private actors would be taken into account, practically every upgrading project would take place within a PPP construction.

<sup>e</sup> Refers to the eight types presented in Table 5.1. The classification of squares is based on function (4) and actors (5).

<sup>f</sup> Refers to the size of the square. Because detailed data from the land register is costly to obtain, and own calculations on the basis of ground maps would not be very accurate, the size is not indicated in m<sup>2</sup>, but in four categories: small (S), medium (M), large (L), and extra-large (XL). Small squares are less than 2,500m<sup>2</sup>; medium squares are between 2,500 and 5,000m<sup>2</sup>; large squares between 5,000 and 10,000m<sup>2</sup>; and extra-large squares are over 10,000m<sup>2</sup>. The size is estimated on the basis of street maps of the cities.

<sup>g</sup> Refers to the year the upgrading project was finished, which – especially in large-scale refurbishments – is often not the same year as the start of the project. Cases indicated with an asterisk (\*) are projects that are not finished yet; the year specifies the expected time of realisation.

# Appendix C Topic list for interviews with case-study respondents

## Conducted in 2006 (see Appendix A)

The interviews with representatives of the actors involved in the redevelopment of the case studies consisted of three main parts related to 1) the context, 2) the object, and 3) the process of redevelopment. This appendix gives an overview of the questions and statements posed to the respondents during the interviews. They have been translated by the author, as the interviews were held in Dutch. Not all parts were discussed equally extensively in all interviews: the context was given more emphasis in conversations with representatives of the public sector.

### 1. Context: backgrounds and objectives of redeveloping public space

*Questions (these were only briefly addressed in interviews with representatives of the private sector, since they mainly refer to the local government's policy, with which they might not be completely acquainted):*

General vision of redevelopment processes:

- Current policy on public space: main aims
- Differences from policy at in the past/at time of redevelopment (if in past: if yes, why?)
- Problems that occur in public space: which/how detected/how solved?
- Is the upgrading part of a comprehensive or focused intervention?

*Statements (only the first four statements on social-cultural dynamics have been discussed with private-sector representatives):*

Importance of socio-cultural dynamics for redevelopment (important or not, why?):

- Public space where people feel safe
- Public space where people can be entertained
- Public space where all user groups feel at home
- Public space where people can meet each other

Importance of economic dynamics for redevelopment (important or not, why?):

- Redesign public space as means to attract visitors and investors to the city
- Redesign public space as improvement of city's image
- Redesign public space as solution for old industrial sites
- Redesign public space as result of necessary renewal

Importance of political dynamics for redevelopment (important or not, why?):

- Redesign public space as symbol of politicians' actions: election time, personal aims

## 2. Object: changes in the design and management of public spaces

### *Questions:*

Specific changes in public space in case study:

- Design: changes in pavement or more extensive adjustments
- Management: more/less maintenance, more/less regulation, more/less surveillance
- Activities: more/less events, more/less sidewalk cafés

### *Statements:*

Spearheads of redesign (important or not, why?):

- Camera surveillance as important spearhead of redesign
- Street furniture as important spearhead of redesign
- Regulation as important spearhead of redesign
- Events/entertainment as important spearhead of redesign
- Shopping facilities as important spearhead of redesign
- Sidewalk cafés as important spearhead of redesign

## 3. Process: actors involved in redevelopment processes of public space

*Motives for involvement (only the motive of the own organisation was inquired about. Outsiders are not always acquainted with the motives of another organisation):*

- Motives local government: social (responsibility), economic (competition, tax revenues), personal (symbol of government's action), physical (necessary renewal)
- Motives property developer (if involved): economic (increase property value), obligatory (public space as required element of total development, more replacement than construction demand), social (improve social-cultural meaning of work/image)
- Motives investor (if involved): economic (enable rental growth, increase market attractiveness), obligatory (public space as required element of total property)

*Roles of involved actors/Co-operation between public and private sector:*

- Ownership: local government/other party?
- Initiative: local government/other party?
- Plan formation: local government/other party?
- Oversight of redevelopment process: local government/other party?
- Finance: local government/other party?
- Management: local government/other party?

### *Statements:*

Influence of private-sector involvement (agree/disagree, why?):

- Increase of available capital for design and management
- Increase of control
- Restriction of accessibility
- More coherence between buildings and public space
- Decrease of quality as a result of compromises
- Increase of duration

# Appendix D Topic list for interviews with advisory team

## Conducted in May-July 2005 (see Appendix A)

The interviews with the advisory team particularly focused on the role and objectives of the main actors involved in the redevelopment of public space. The questions posed to the members are summarised below and have been translated by the author, as the interviews were held in Dutch.

*So far, we have focused on the history and development of the Dutch city square and social antecedents of redevelopment. Now we would like to focus on the role of different actors in the redevelopment process: who does what and why? That is the topic for today. I would like to discuss your own role as well as your experiences with other actors involved in the redevelopment. I would like to start with your own role within redevelopment processes. If possible please illustrate your story with real-life examples of redeveloped public spaces.*

### Role of local government

*According to the classic forms of management, the local government is traditionally seen as owner, financier, director and executor of public space. Now there seems to be a trend of a changing division of labour, in which the role of private parties is increasing.*

Responsibility: What should the role of the local government be in the redevelopment of public space? Does it also perform this role in practice? Has this role changed during the last decades? Is the local government the main responsible party for the quality of public space?

Motives: What are the motives of the local government to be involved in redevelopment (e.g., city marketing, enhancing living environment)?

Capacities: It seems as if the local government becomes increasingly dependent on the private sector to accomplish the redevelopment of public space. Do you agree? How can this be explained? What options does the local government have to get involved in the redevelopment (capital, land ownership, regulation)?

### Role of property developer

Responsibility: What should the role of property developers be in the redevelopment of public space? Do they also perform this role in practice? Has this role changed during the last years/decades? Do you expect changes for the future?

Motives: What are the motives of the property developer to get involved in the redevelopment process (e.g., increased property value)? Property developers may have a bad reputation – some say they are only interested in the final product and not in the social and cultural meaning of their work. Do

you agree? Is redevelopment of public space in the city centre attractive to developers due to the limited development possibilities?

Capacities: What options do property developers have to get involved in the redevelopment process (knowledge, capital, voice)? How does the involvement of developers influence public space?

### **Role of investor**

Responsibility: What should the role of investors be in the redevelopment of public space? Do they also perform this role in practice? Has this role changed during the last years/decades? Do you expect changes for the future? How is their role different from the developer's? Do investors act as developers, or vice versa?

Motives: Why are investors willing to invest in public space?

Capacities: What options do investors have to get involved in the redevelopment process (knowledge, capital, voice)? How does the involvement of developers influence public space?

### **Role of designer**

Responsibility: In what way should designers be involved in the redevelopment process (only providing design or doing more than that)?

Motives: What are the main motives for designers to get involved in redevelopment?

Capacities: What options do designers have to get involved in redevelopment (creativity, knowledge)?

### **Role of informal actors**

*Informal actors, including local residents and local entrepreneurs, can play a decisive role in the development of a certain area. These actors seem to become more increasingly involved (e.g., via referendums).*

Responsibility: What is the role of informal actors in the redevelopment of public space? Are they often involved or not? Should they be more involved in the decision-making process or not? In what way and in which phase? Should they co-finance the redevelopment because they profit from it?

Motives: What are the main motives for informal actors to get involved?

Capacities: In what ways can informal actors influence the process of redevelopment?

## Appendix E Main Dutch developers and investors

*Table E.1* Main Dutch developers involved in redevelopment of public space (members of NEPROM, Association of Dutch Property Development Companies)

	Portfolio-example	Website
<i>Independent developers</i>		
3W Vastgoed	Maasboulevard, Venlo	<a href="http://www.3winfo.nl">www.3winfo.nl</a>
ABB Ontwikkeling	Centrumplan, Pijnacker-Nootdorp	<a href="http://www.abbbouwgroep.nl">www.abbbouwgroep.nl</a>
BAM Vastgoed	ArenA Boulevard, Amsterdam	<a href="http://www.bamvastgoed.nl">www.bamvastgoed.nl</a>
Blauwhoed	City centre (Stadshart), Almere	<a href="http://www.blauwhoed.nl">www.blauwhoed.nl</a>
Bouwfonds	Katendrecht, Rotterdam	<a href="http://www.bouwfonds.nl">www.bouwfonds.nl</a>
Grontmij	City centre, Sas van Gent	<a href="http://www.grontmijrealestate.com">www.grontmijrealestate.com</a>
Heijmans	Haverleij, Den Bosch	<a href="http://www.heijmans.nl">www.heijmans.nl</a>
Heilijgers	Mooierplein, Amersfoort	<a href="http://www.heilijgers.nl">www.heilijgers.nl</a>
Hillen & Roosen	Bos & Lommer, Amsterdam	<a href="http://www.hillen.nl">www.hillen.nl</a>
Hurks Bouw & Vastgoed	Piazza, Eindhoven	<a href="http://www.hurks.nl">www.hurks.nl</a>
Johan Matser	City centre (Stadshart), Zoetermeer	<a href="http://www.johanmatser.nl">www.johanmatser.nl</a>
Moes Bouwgroep	Euroquartier, Almere	<a href="http://www.moesbouw.nl">www.moesbouw.nl</a>
Multi Corporation	Beurstraverse, Rotterdam	<a href="http://www.multi.nl">www.multi.nl</a>
NPH Macobouw	Centrumwaard, Heerhugowaard	<a href="http://www.nhpmacobouw.nl">www.nhpmacobouw.nl</a>
Provastgoed	Haagse Passage, The Hague	<a href="http://www.provastgoed.nl">www.provastgoed.nl</a>
Van Hoogevest	Woonboulevard, Amersfoort	<a href="http://www.hoogevest.nl">www.hoogevest.nl</a>
Volker Wessels Vastgoed	Centrumplan, Groesbeek	<a href="http://www.vwvastgoed.nl">www.vwvastgoed.nl</a>
<i>Finance-related developers</i>		
Ahold Vastgoed	August Allebéplein, Amsterdam	<a href="http://www.aholdvastgoed.nl">www.aholdvastgoed.nl</a>
Ballast Nedam	Plein 1960 (Stadshart), Amstelveen	<a href="http://www.ballast-nedam.nl">www.ballast-nedam.nl</a>
Fortis Vastgoed	Retail centre Vleuterweide, Utrecht	<a href="http://www.fortisvastgoed.nl">www.fortisvastgoed.nl</a>
ING Real Estate Development	Museumplein, Amsterdam	<a href="http://www.ingrealestate.com">www.ingrealestate.com</a>
Rabo Vastgoed	Mainly housing	<a href="http://www.rabovastgoed.nl">www.rabovastgoed.nl</a>

Source: NEPROM (2005)

*Table E.2* Main Dutch investors involved in redevelopment of public space (members of IVBN, Association of Dutch Institutional Investors in Real Estate)

<b>Independent property developers</b>	<b>Website</b>
Achmea Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.achmeavastgoed.nl">www.achmeavastgoed.nl</a>
Altera Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.alteravastgoed.nl">www.alteravastgoed.nl</a>
AMVEST	<a href="http://www.amvest.nl">www.amvest.nl</a>
AZL	<a href="http://www.azl-group.com">www.azl-group.com</a>
BPF Bouwinvest	<a href="http://www.bpfbouwinvest.nl">www.bpfbouwinvest.nl</a>
Bouwfonds Asset Management	<a href="http://www.bouwfonds.nl/assetmanagement">www.bouwfonds.nl/assetmanagement</a>
Corio	<a href="http://www.corio-eu.com">www.corio-eu.com</a>
Delta Lloyd Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.deltalloydvastgoed.nl">www.deltalloydvastgoed.nl</a>
Fortis Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.fortisvastgoed.nl">www.fortisvastgoed.nl</a>
Generali Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.generalivastgoed.nl">www.generalivastgoed.nl</a>
Grafische Bedrijfsfondsen	<a href="http://www.gbf.nl">www.gbf.nl</a>
ING Real Estate Investment Management	<a href="http://www.ingvastgoed.nl">www.ingvastgoed.nl</a>
Interpolis Vastgoed	<a href="http://www.interpolisvastgoed.nl">www.interpolisvastgoed.nl</a>
Mn-Services	<a href="http://www.mn-services.nl">www.mn-services.nl</a>
NEWOMIJ	<a href="http://www.newomij.nl">www.newomij.nl</a>
Nieuwe Steen Investments	<a href="http://www.nsi.nl">www.nsi.nl</a>
PGGM	<a href="http://www.pggm.nl">www.pggm.nl</a>
Redevco Nederland	<a href="http://www.redevco.com">www.redevco.com</a>
Rodamco Europe	<a href="http://www.rodamconederland.nl">www.rodamconederland.nl</a>
SPF Beheer	<a href="http://www.spfbeheer.nl">www.spfbeheer.nl</a>
VastNed Groep	<a href="http://www.vastned.nl">www.vastned.nl</a>
Vesteda Groep	<a href="http://www.vesteda.com">www.vesteda.com</a>
Wereldhave	<a href="http://www.wereldhave.com">www.wereldhave.com</a>

Source: IVBN (2006)



# Samenvatting

## Veranderende openbare ruimte

*De recente herontwikkeling van Nederlandse stadspaleinen*

### Inleiding

Steeds meer openbare ruimten in Nederland ondergaan een facelift. Auto's die tot de jaren '80 nog volop werden geparkeerd op de centrale stadspaleinen zijn verdwenen en vervangen door modern straatmeubilair, terrassen en georganiseerde evenementen. Tegelijkertijd worden openbare ruimten meer gecontroleerd door cameratoezicht en verscherpte regelgeving. Ook blijkt de private sector steeds nadrukkelijker te zijn betrokken bij deze herinrichtingsprocessen. Dit proefschrift gaat in op de achtergronden en gevolgen van de herinrichting van Nederlandse binnenstedelijke openbare ruimte: welke trends liggen hieraan ten grondslag, waar wordt de 'nieuwe' openbare ruimte door gekenmerkt, welke actoren zijn bij de herinrichting betrokken en hoe heeft die betrokkenheid de herinrichting beïnvloed? Met deze nadruk op de actoren levert het onderzoek een bijdrage aan de bestaande literatuur over openbare ruimte. Die stelt vaak de gebruiker (de 'vraagkant') centraal zonder zich te richten op de actoren die verantwoordelijk zijn voor en/of invloed hebben op de inrichting en het beheer van openbare ruimte (de 'aanbodkant').

Naast de introductie (hoofdstuk 1) en conclusie (hoofdstuk 9) bestaat dit proefschrift uit drie theoretische en drie empirische hoofdstukken die van elkaar worden gescheiden door een methodologische verantwoording (hoofdstuk 5). Hierin wordt beschreven waar en hoe het onderzoek is uitgevoerd. Centraal in het onderzoek staat het Nederlandse stadspalein; deze specifieke en veelal centraal gelegen openbare ruimte is vaak het middelpunt van herinrichting. Aan de hand van een inventarisatie van heringerichte stadspaleinen is een keuze gemaakt voor vier steden: Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enschede en 's-Hertogenbosch. Binnen deze steden zijn telkens clusters van twee nabijgelegen paleinen gekozen, zodat de herinrichting van in totaal acht paleinen is onderzocht. Per cluster is één openbare ruimte geselecteerd die is heringericht door de gemeente zelf (het *public* palein) en één waarbij de herinrichting tot stand is gekomen door een publiek-private samenwerking (het *PPP* palein). Dit zijn respectievelijk het Schouwburgpalein en de Beurstraverse (Rotterdam), de Grote Markt en het Statenpalein (Dordrecht), de Oude Markt en het H.J. van Heekpalein (Enschede), en de Markt en het Burgemeester Loeffpalein ('s-Hertogenbosch). De herontwikkeling van deze acht paleinen is in kaart gebracht middels interviews met sleutelfiguren, observaties en een analyse van bestaande data (beleidsdocumenten, statistieken, etc.). Daarnaast is een klankbordgroep opgesteld van deskundigen uit de praktijk van vastgoed, ruimtelijke ordening en stedelijke ontwikkeling. De verantwoording van de bovenstaande keuzes is verder toegelicht in hoofdstuk 5.

## Ontwikkeling van Nederlandse stadspaleinen

De centrale notie van het proefschrift is de relatie tussen een veranderende maatschappij en een veranderende openbare ruimte. Hiermee wordt bedoeld dat openbare ruimte niet als een statisch geheel moet worden gezien, maar als een onderdeel van het stedelijk organisme dat dagelijks aan verandering onderhevig is. Anders gezegd: zonder heden geen verleden. Het is daarom van belang om de historische ontwikkeling van pleinen te schetsen, om zo de hedendaagse veranderingen beter te kunnen begrijpen. De eerste onderzoeksvraag luidt dan ook als volgt: *Hoe zijn de inrichting en het beheer van Nederlandse stadspaleinen veranderd in de loop der tijd?*

Uit het historisch overzicht in hoofdstuk 2 blijkt dat pleinen door de eeuwen heen veel verschillende functies hebben gehad; de Griekse *agora* waar werd gediscussieerd en onderwezen, de middeleeuwse multifunctionele marktpleinen en de imposante pleinen uit de Renaissance. De meeste Nederlandse pleinen zijn als marktplaats ontstaan in de Middeleeuwen. In tegenstelling tot landen als Frankrijk en Spanje werden tijdens de 17<sup>e</sup> en 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw weinig nieuwe pleinen aangelegd in Nederland. In deze periode werd het plannen van straten en pleinen steeds meer een politieke activiteit. Pleinen werden niet langer gebouwd voor markten en andere activiteiten, maar voor het etaleren van macht door processies en parades. Vanwege deze politieke nadruk waren pleinen relatief groot, waardoor de constructie alleen mogelijk was in sterke, centralistische regimes die daadkrachtig konden optreden en de kosten hiervoor konden veroorloven. Dit was in Nederland niet het geval: adel, vorst en een sterk centraal gezag ontbrak in dit land. Bovendien werd in de ingetogen burgerlijke cultuur van Holland soberheid verkozen boven uiterlijk vertoon in de vorm van grote pleinen. Later speelde ook ruimtegebrek een rol; door de snelle bevolkingsgroei was er simpelweg te weinig plaats in steden om grote openbare ruimten te creëren. In de 19<sup>e</sup> eeuw ontstonden vooral stationspleinen aan de rand van binnensteden. Deze fungeerden in eerste instantie als nieuwe marktplaatsen, maar werden na 1900 al snel door trams, bussen en auto's gedomineerd. Ook de bestaande middeleeuwse pleinen kregen te maken met het toegenomen verkeer in de tweede helft van de 20<sup>e</sup> eeuw. In een poging de binnenstad toegankelijk te houden besloten veel stadsbesturen om pleinen te transformeren tot parkeerterrein en de historische fijnmazige structuur van de binnenstad met onder andere straatverbredingen open te breken. Het modernistische gedachtegoed van de *CIAM*-beweging lag hieraan ten grondslag. Aan het eind van de 20<sup>e</sup> eeuw werd dit proces weer grotendeels teruggedraaid toen men zich realiseerde dat het toegenomen verkeer de binnenstad juist verstikte. De meeste stadspaleinen zijn tegenwoordig weer het domein van de voetganger. Ze worden steeds vaker heringericht om zo veilige en aantrekkelijke plekken te creëren voor de huidige consumptiemaatschappij.

Twee van de acht onderzochte pleinen passen binnen dit geschetste beeld. De Oude Markt in Enschede en de Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch ontstonden allebei als marktplaats in de 13<sup>e</sup> eeuw. Gedurende de jaren '60 en '70 werden ze door verkeersstromen gedomineerd, maar inmiddels zijn de beide pleinen heringericht en getransformeerd tot uitgaanspleinen. Opvallend is dat zes geselecteerde pleinen juist géén middeleeuwse achtergrond hebben, maar pas in de vorige eeuw zijn ontstaan. De verklaring hiervoor is dat de fijnmazige, middeleeuwse structuur van de onderzoekssteden ernstig is beschadigd tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog (Rotterdam, Enschede) of door de *CIAM*-geïnspireerde stadssaneringen in de jaren '60 (Dordrecht, 's-Hertogenbosch). Hierdoor ontstonden nieuwe stedelijke ruimten. Het Rotterdamse Schouwburgplein, het Beursplein en de Van Oldebarnevelplaats werden aangelegd in de jaren '50 als onderdeel van het grootschalige wederopbouwplan van de stad. De laatstgenoemde twee pleinen werden in 1996 met elkaar verbonden door middel van een verdiepte winkelstraat, de

Beurstraverse. Het Van Heekplein in Enschede ontstond ook ten gevolge van een bombardement tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Het plein werd later vergroot door de sloop van een nabijgelegen textiel fabriek die door het deïndustrialisatieproces buiten gebruik raakte. De Grote Markt en het Statenplein in Dordrecht en het Loeffplein in 's-Hertogenbosch zijn juist het resultaat van saneringsactiviteiten in de jaren '60. Verpauperde woningen werden hier gesloopt om toegangswegen en parkeerpleinen in de binnenstad te creëren.

De ontstaansgeschiedenis van deze zes heringerichte openbare ruimten verschilt dus van het 'gemiddelde' middeleeuwse plein in Nederland. Dit toont aan dat de recente herontwikkeling vooral plaatsvindt in openbare ruimten die in of vlakbij het historische centrum liggen, maar zelf niet historisch zijn. Deze pleinen zijn heringericht met als doel een nieuw stedelijk hart te creëren, maar ze werden niet als zodanig beschouwd vóór de herontwikkeling. Hierdoor was het mogelijk om de pleinen te herinrichten zonder veel weerstand van de lokale bevolking, monumentenzorg en andere belanghebbenden. De pleinen boden daardoor meer vrijheid aan de actoren betrokken bij de herontwikkeling om de plekken aan te passen aan de eisen van de huidige samenleving en van de belangrijkste stakeholders. Middeleeuwse pleinen worden daarentegen vaak gezien als de belangrijkste openbare ruimten in de stad die niet grondig worden herontwikkeld, maar hoogstens een opknapbeurt krijgen en/of een functieverandering ondergaan. De dynamische relatie tussen een veranderende samenleving en veranderende openbare ruimte is dus het meest zichtbaar bij niet-historische pleinen waarbij wél rigoureuze veranderingen in de inrichting en het beheer worden doorgevoerd.

### Huidige trends in openbare ruimte

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt het historische overzicht van Nederlandse pleinen doorgetrokken tot het heden aan de hand van twee subvragen: *Wat zijn de huidige trends in de inrichting en het beheer van openbare ruimte in Nederland? Welke sociaal-culturele, economische en politieke achtergronden hebben deze trends veroorzaakt?* Uit observaties en literatuuranalyse blijkt dat er grofweg twee theoretische concepten kunnen worden onderscheiden: *fear* versus *fantasy*. Deze abstracte noties kunnen ruimtelijk worden vertaald naar specifieke ingrepen in de fysieke ruimte. Zo wordt de Nederlandse openbare ruimte enerzijds steeds meer gekenmerkt door beveiliging in de vorm van bijvoorbeeld cameratoezicht en strengere regelgeving, wat we hebben gedefinieerd als beveiligde openbare ruimte (*secured public space*). Anderzijds worden openbare ruimten steeds meer gebruikt voor vermaakdoeleinden. Dit blijkt uit het toegenomen aantal terrassen, *funshops* en evenementen, en is omschreven als gethematiseerde openbare ruimte (*themed public space*). Naast de beschrijving van de twee concepten en hun ruimtelijke vertaling, worden in hoofdstuk 3 ook de sociaal-culturele, economische en politieke verklaringen hiervoor genoemd. De eerste categorie omvat trends zoals de toenemende differentiatie van leefstijlen en consumptiepatronen, maar ook angstgevoelens van burgers. Economische verklaringen kunnen worden gezocht in het feit dat openbare ruimte binnen de toegenomen stedenstrijd en het *entrepreneurial* stadsbeleid steeds meer als een pluspunt (*asset*) wordt gezien. Zowel gemeenten als private actoren hopen bedrijven, toeristen, consumenten en kapitaalkrachtige inwoners aan te trekken door het aanbieden van beveiligde en gethematiseerde openbare ruimte. De belangrijkste politieke ontwikkeling is de verschuiving van *government* naar *governance*, die duidt op de steeds nadrukkelijker betrokkenheid van de private sector bij deze stedelijke projecten. Bovenstaande ontwikkelingen hebben geleid tot veranderingen in de openbare ruimte; hetzij direct of indirect via veranderingen in beleid en betrokken actoren (zie Figuur 1.1).

Om te achterhalen in hoeverre de onderzochte pleinen kunnen worden gecategoriseerd als beveiligde of gethematiseerde openbare ruimten moesten de concepten *fear* en *fantasy* ruimtelijk worden vertaald. Als inventarisatie-instrument zijn zesdimensionale diagrammen opgesteld die de score van een ruimte kunnen weergeven op het gebied van *secured public space* (d.w.z. de variabelen surveillance, gebruiksbeperkingen en regulering) en *themed public space* (d.w.z. de variabelen evenementen, funshopping en terrassen). Indien het ontstane profiel voornamelijk het bovenste gedeelte van de cirkel (dimensies 1 t/m 3) bedekt kan de openbare ruimte worden gezien als beveiligde openbare ruimte; wanneer grotendeels het onderste gedeelte (dimensies 4 t/m 6) wordt bedekt betreft het een gethematiseerde ruimte. Figuur 5.6 geeft een voorbeeld van een dergelijk diagram.

Wanneer de diagrammen van de acht pleinen worden vergeleken blijkt dat sommige kunnen worden gecategoriseerd als beveiligde openbare ruimte (de Beurstraverse en het Loeffplein inclusief winkelcentrum Arena), aangezien ze worden gekenmerkt door cameratoezicht en extra regelgeving en 's nachts (gedeeltelijk) worden afgesloten. De overige pleinen zijn gethematiseerde openbare ruimten omringd door funshops en terrasjes en waar regelmatig evenementen worden georganiseerd. De diagrammen tonen echter dat pleinen uit beide categorieën ook tegenovergestelde kenmerken vertonen. Ruimtelijke dimensies van *fear* en *fantasy* kunnen dus tegelijkertijd voorkomen. Er is echter niet zo dat meer *fear* tot meer *fantasy* leidt, zoals wordt verondersteld in sommige wetenschappelijke bronnen. Het blijkt juist dat openbare ruimten met een hoge score op 'gethematiseerde' dimensies over het algemeen lage scores hebben op 'beveiligde' dimensies en vice versa. De Oude Markt in Enschede is de uitzondering met hoge scores op beide soorten dimensies.

### **Private betrokkenheid bij de herontwikkeling van openbare ruimte**

Het ontstaan van beveiligde en gethematiseerde openbare ruimten heeft alles te maken met een aantal maatschappelijke trends die zich voordoen in de huidige samenleving. Sociaal-culturele ontwikkelingen zijn gerelateerd aan het gedrag en de gevoelens van de gebruikers van openbare ruimte (de 'vraagkant'), die we in dit onderzoek buiten beschouwing hebben gelaten. Economische en politieke ontwikkelingen betreffen daarentegen voornamelijk de acties van de verschillende partijen die betrokken zijn bij de herstructurering van openbare ruimte. Deze 'aanbodkant' omvat de lokale overheid maar ook vertegenwoordigers van de private sector zoals ontwikkelaars, investeerders en andere belanghebbenden. Kan de ontwikkeling van beveiligde en gethematiseerde openbare ruimte worden gekoppeld aan de participatie van de private sector? Met andere woorden: *Wat zijn de gevolgen van de betrokkenheid van de private sector bij de herontwikkeling van openbare ruimte in Nederland?* Deze derde onderzoeksvraag vereist eerst inzicht in hoeverre de private sector betrokken is bij herinrichtingsprocessen, voordat wordt bepaald in hoeverre deze betrokkenheid effect heeft op de inrichting en het beheer van openbare ruimte in Nederlandse binnensteden.

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat in op de betrokkenheid van de private sector bij de herinrichting van de openbare ruimte. Een blik in het verleden toont dat dit niet alleen een recent fenomeen is. Private partijen hebben door de eeuwen heen hun stempel op de inrichting en het beheer van openbare ruimte gedrukt. In Nederland speelt de nationale overheid sinds de jaren '50 een dominante rol in ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen, maar tot de Tweede Wereldoorlog waren er juist veel private initiatieven met betrekking tot de ontwikkeling van openbare ruimte. Dit lijkt tegenwoordig opnieuw het geval te zijn. Ontwikkelaars en investeerders zijn niet (meer) alleen geïnteresseerd

in hun eigendom, maar ook in de ruimte eromheen. De ontwikkelaars zijn met name betrokken bij de ontwikkeling van projecten, de investeerder nadat het project is opgeleverd. Deze actoren denken de waarde van hun eigendom te verhogen door de herinrichting van de omliggende openbare ruimten.

Gemeenten hebben op hun beurt belangstelling om private actoren bij herontwikkelingsprocessen in de binnenstad te betrekken. De lokale overheid is van oudsher verantwoordelijk voor publieke voorzieningen, inclusief de openbare ruimte, en gemeenten zijn daarom verplicht om openbare ruimte te verbeteren waarvan de inrichting en aanzien te wensen overlaet. Dit is echter niet hun enige motief. Vanwege de decentralisatie van de nationale overheid moeten gemeenten steeds meer zelf voor hun eigen ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen en inkomsten zorgen. De Nota Ruimte speelt deze trend in de hand onder het motto 'decentraal wat kan, centraal wat moet'. Hierdoor moeten lokale overheden zich steeds bedrijfsmatiger (*entrepreneurial*) opstellen, wat inhoudt dat ze zoeken naar andere (private) bronnen bij het financieren van ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen en tevens de stad proberen te promoten. Dit gebeurt middels reclamecampagnes en het organiseren van evenementen, maar ook door openbare ruimte opnieuw in te richten op een spraakmakende manier. Hiermee hopen gemeenten – maar ook de private sector – bedrijvigheid en consumenten aan te trekken. Door de handen ineen te slaan ontstaat een win-win situatie voor zowel publieke als private partijen.

Het dubbele motief van de gemeente komt naar voren in het herontwikkelingsproces van de Markt in 's-Hertogenbosch. Het plein is gedeeltelijk in een slechte staat en is niet meer heringericht sinds de jaren '70. Het wordt momenteel opnieuw ingericht om deze situatie te verbeteren. De herinrichting maakt echter ook deel uit van het *Binnenstad Buiten* plan om de gehele binnenstad te herontwikkelen en de stad zo aantrekkelijker te maken in vergelijking met andere (naburige) steden. De stadsbesturen van Rotterdam, Dordrecht en Enschede hebben hun openbare ruimten heringericht met vergelijkbare motieven. Aan het begin van de jaren '90 hadden deze steden te maken met teruglopende bezoekersaantallen. De openbare ruimte in de binnensteden was lange tijd verwaarloosd en functioneerde slecht. Elke stad stelde daarom een beleidsdocument op: het *Binnenstadsplan* van 1985 en 1993 (Rotterdam), het *Ondernemingsplan Binnenstad* van 1996 (Dordrecht) en het *Binnenstadsboek* van 1996 (Enschede). De belangrijkste doelstelling van deze plannen was om de verwaarloosde staat van de openbare ruimte te herstellen. Hiermee hoopten de gemeenten tevens hun concurrentiepositie te verbeteren, waardoor de plannen als *entrepreneurial* kunnen worden aangeduid. Bovendien betrokken de vier gemeenten de private sector bij de herontwikkeling van hun binnenstad: de Beurstraverse, het Statenplein, het Van Heekplein en het Loeffplein zijn allen tot stand gekomen door publiek-private samenwerking.

Hoofdstuk 8 laat middels citaten de geïnterviewde actoren aan het woord over hun rol en motieven tijdens de herontwikkeling. De lokale overheid blijkt nog steeds in vrijwel alle fasen van de herinrichting een dominante rol te spelen, met name wat betreft het procesmanagement (de traditionele 'regierol') en beheer van openbare ruimte na de herontwikkeling. De taken zijn meer verdeeld over de publieke en private sector wat betreft ontwerp en financiering. De private sector is vooral betrokken wanneer er aan het plein sprake is van nieuwbouw met een winkelfunctie. Verklaringen hiervoor zijn de relatief hoge huuropbrengsten en lagere risico's verbonden aan het winkelsector in vergelijking met horeca, kantoren en huisvesting. Doordat de nieuwbouw opbrengsten genereert, is de private sector bereid een deel daarvan in de omgeving te investeren. Zonder nieuwbouw zal de private sector dan ook niet vaak bij de herinrichting van openbare

ruimte zijn betrokken. Andere belanghebbenden blijken nauwelijks betrokken te zijn geweest bij de herinrichting van de *PPP* pleinen. Uitzondering zijn warenhuizen C&A (Rotterdam) en V&D (Dordrecht), en ondernemersvereniging Hartje 's-Hertogenbosch. Zij hebben vooral een initiërende rol gespeeld.

In het onderzoek is ook ingegaan op de mogelijke gevolgen van private betrokkenheid bij de herinrichting van openbare ruimte. Uit de literatuur blijkt dat het kan resulteren in 1) een groter budget voor inrichting en beheer, 2) een verminderde toegankelijkheid, 3) een verbeterde samenhang tussen gebouwen en openbare ruimten en 4) meer gecompliceerde processen (verloop van realisatie, complexe besluitvorming). In het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 8 is gekeken in hoeverre deze mogelijke effecten van private betrokkenheid ook kunnen worden waargenomen bij de *PPP* pleinen. Het blijkt dat de private sector – behalve bij de Beurstraverse – niet direct meebetaald aan de herinrichting van openbare ruimte, maar indirect via de grondexploitatie bijdraagt aan het budget. Interessant is dat de private sector dit als een concrete bijdrage beschouwt, terwijl de publieke sector dat niet doet. De publieke en private sector hebben dus verschillende interpretaties van elkaars bijdragen aan de financiering van herinrichtingsprojecten. Over andere effecten zijn de meningen minder verdeeld. Betrokkenheid van de private sector leidt niet tot meer toezicht en minder toegankelijkheid, behalve in gebieden die daadwerkelijk privaat eigendom zijn, zoals de Beurstraverse en winkelcentra Arena, Drievriendenhof en Klanderij). De betrokkenheid van de private sector bevordert de samenhang tussen gebouwen en openbare ruimte. Samenwerking tussen de publieke en private sector leidt niet tot meer compromissen, maar eerder tot een verbeterde kwaliteit als resultaat van gezamenlijke brainstormsessies. Ook blijkt dat de betrokkenheid van de private sector niet nadelig is voor de duur van de herontwikkelingsprocessen; die komt grotendeels overeen met de realisatie van *public* pleinen.

Volgens de geïnterviewde actoren leidt private betrokkenheid niet automatisch tot beveiligde of gethematiseerde openbare ruimte. Om deze stelling te controleren zijn de zesdimensionale diagrammen vergeleken van de *public* en *PPP* pleinen. De *PPP* pleinen vertonen zonder uitzondering hoge scores op de factor funshopping. Hieruit kan worden geconcludeerd dat de private sector vooral is geïnteresseerd in de herinrichting van pleinen met een winkelcomponent. De *public* pleinen laten een meer gevarieerd beeld zien. Zo scoort de Oude Markt conform de verwachting hoog op de dimensie 'terrassen', terwijl het culturele Schouwburgplein juist hoog scoort op de dimensie 'evenementen'. Qua mate van beveiliging verschillen *public* en *PPP* pleinen nauwelijks. De Beurstraverse scoort hoog op *fear* factoren, maar andere *PPP* pleinen zoals het Van Heekplein en Statenplein niet. Dit bevestigt het eerder beschreven beeld dat de betrokkenheid van de private sector niet automatisch leidt tot meer cameratoezicht of strengere regelgeving; enkel in gebieden die privaat eigendom zijn.

## Conclusies

In hoofdstuk 9 worden bovenstaande onderzoeksresultaten kort weergegeven. Ook is gekeken naar de implicaties voor ruimtelijk beleid en toekomstig onderzoek naar openbare ruimte. Er kunnen vraagtekens worden gesteld bij de wenselijkheid van herontwikkeling. Aangezien gebruikersprofielen en leefstijlen snel kunnen veranderen is het haast onmogelijk om met veranderingen in de fysieke omgeving hierop in te spelen. Bovendien is het maar de vraag in hoeverre ingrepen in de fysieke ruimte ook tot het gewenste gedrag of beleving van de openbare

ruimte leiden. Tenslotte kunnen de belangen van verschillende gebruikers met elkaar conflicteren. Het is belangrijk dat overheden zich hiervan bewust zijn en weloverwogen beslissen hoe en voor wie openbare ruimte moet worden heringericht, en in hoeverre potentiële conflicten ruimtelijk uit elkaar kunnen of moeten worden getrokken.

De betrokkenheid van de private sector bij herinrichtingsprocessen kan ook in twijfel worden getrokken, omdat het op de lange termijn kan leiden tot ruimtelijke differentiatie van verschillende delen van de binnenstad. Dit komt doordat de betrokkenheid van de private sector is beperkt tot een bepaald soort ruimte: winkelpleinen. Plekken met een andere functie (bijvoorbeeld horeca of cultuur) zijn minder interessant door grotere risico's en lagere investeringsopbrengsten. Door fysieke maatregelen wordt geprobeerd de gewenste gebruikers (consumenten) aan te trekken. Deze focus kan uiteindelijk leiden tot een kwaliteitsverschil tussen verschillende delen van de stad. Het onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat gemeenten dit proberen tegen te gaan door gelijktijdig met de ingreep in de *PPP* pleinen de gehele binnenstad opnieuw in te richten. Dit is mogelijk zolang de overheid een fundamentele rol speelt in de voorziening van publieke goederen. Ook blijft de mate van differentiatie nog beperkt vanwege de relatief beperkte financiële bijdrage van de private sector aan inrichting en beheer. Voorlopig lijkt differentiatie dan ook geen groot probleem. Wanneer echter op een bepaald moment sommige winkelformules zouden wegtrekken uit de binnenstad, zou de dominante focus op retail wel eens problematisch kunnen worden, omdat daarmee ook het privaat kapitaal dat kan worden gebruikt bij de herinrichting van openbare ruimte wegvloeit. Tenslotte kan private betrokkenheid de homogenisering van de binnenstad in de hand werken. Door het gebruik van dezelfde citymarketing technieken en franchising van winkelketens lijken Nederlandse binnensteden al steeds meer op elkaar. Deze trend kan worden versterkt wanneer een relatief kleine groep ontwikkelaars en investeerders meer verantwoordelijkheid krijgt bij de ontwikkeling en het beheer van openbare ruimte in Nederlandse steden.

Uit de onderzoeksresultaten blijkt dat de grote mate van private betrokkenheid bij de Beurstraverse weinig navolging heeft gekregen in de andere drie *PPP* pleinen. Mogelijke verklaringen hiervoor zijn de angst voor privatisering van de binnenstad en een gebrek aan ervaring met grootschalige projecten en/of publiek-private samenwerking. Omdat de betrokkenheid nog relatief beperkt is rijst de vraag of deze zou moeten worden gestimuleerd. Het kopiëren van beleidsinstrumenten zoals die in het buitenland worden gehanteerd lijkt niet de oplossing; publiek-private samenwerking lijkt eerder gebaat bij goede communicatie (bijvoorbeeld over de precieze financiële bijdrage van de private sector) en een goede balans in de taakverdeling tussen de publieke en private sector.

In de toekomst blijft onderzoek naar openbare ruimte van groot belang. In de meeste Nederlandse binnensteden – inclusief de onderzoekssteden – is de herinrichting nog niet voltooid. Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat de betrokkenheid van de private sector niet automatisch leidt tot de ontwikkeling van beveiligde openbare ruimte. De Beurstraverse scoort weliswaar hoog op *fear*-gerelateerde dimensies, maar zulk verscherpt toezicht geldt niet voor de overige *PPP* pleinen. Het is echter ook het enige geval waarbij de private sector direct heeft bijgedragen aan de financiering van de inrichting en het beheer van openbare ruimte. Private betrokkenheid kan dus wél leiden tot meer toezicht en verminderde toegankelijkheid wanneer private partijen direct zijn betrokken bij de financiering. Verder onderzoek naar deze relatie is noodzakelijk, inclusief meer cases waarbij de private sector een directe financiële bijdrage heeft geleverd.

Hierbij kan worden gedacht aan publiek toegankelijke particuliere ruimtes die in dit onderzoek buiten beschouwing zijn gelaten, bijvoorbeeld atriумы van winkelcentra en verkeersknooppunten zoals vliegvelden en treinstations. Wanneer er een relatie blijkt te zijn, moet er worden gekeken wat dit betekent voor sociale uitsluiting: openbare ruimte wordt veiliger en comfortabeler, maar voor en ten koste van wie? Voor sommige internationale auteurs is het duidelijk: zij praten over het 'einde van openbare ruimte'. In Nederland lijkt hier echter nog geen sprake van te zijn.

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# Curriculum vitae

Rianne van Melik was born in Horst (Limburg) on the 7th of July 1980. She completed her secondary education at the Dendron College in Horst in 1998. She moved to Utrecht to study at University College Utrecht (UCU), the international Honours College of Utrecht University that opened that year. Her bachelor study was partly fulfilled in Sweden, where Rianne followed several courses at Lund University in the fall of 2000. She graduated in 2001 and continued to study at the Faculty of Geosciences of Utrecht University to do her masters in Economic Geography. She started her PhD research on the redevelopment of urban public space in September 2003. During this project, Rianne was also active as editor of *Nederlandse Geografische Studies* (NGS – Netherlands Geographical Studies) and member of the educational committee of the *Netherlands Graduate School of Urban and Regional Research* (NETHUR). She was involved in several teaching activities, including the bachelor course ‘The American City’ and the master fieldtrip to New York City. This has resulted in a number of publications on New York in Dutch journals (see below). Rianne currently works at the Faculty of Geosciences as junior lecturer.

## Scientific publications

Van Melik, R., I. Van Aalst & J. Van Weesep (2007), Fear and fantasy in the public domain: The development of secured and themed urban space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12(1), pp. 25-42

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